

**Is Plenty Too Much  
for  
the Common People?**

*by*

***George R. Kirkpatrick***

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# Is Plenty Too Much for the Common People?

*The hottest question that ever  
flung a statesman or a slave.*

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QUESTION! QUESTION! QUESTION!  
I CALL FOR THE QUESTION!

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By

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

Author of *War—What For?*  
and  
*Think—or Surrender*

*Illustrations by*  
ART YOUNG

*Published by*  
FLORENCE H. KIRKPATRICK  
Box 7, San Gabriel, Calif.

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FLORENCE H. KIRKPATRICK  
*Box 7, San Gabriel*  
*California*

First Edition, October, 1939.  
Second Edition, January, 1940.

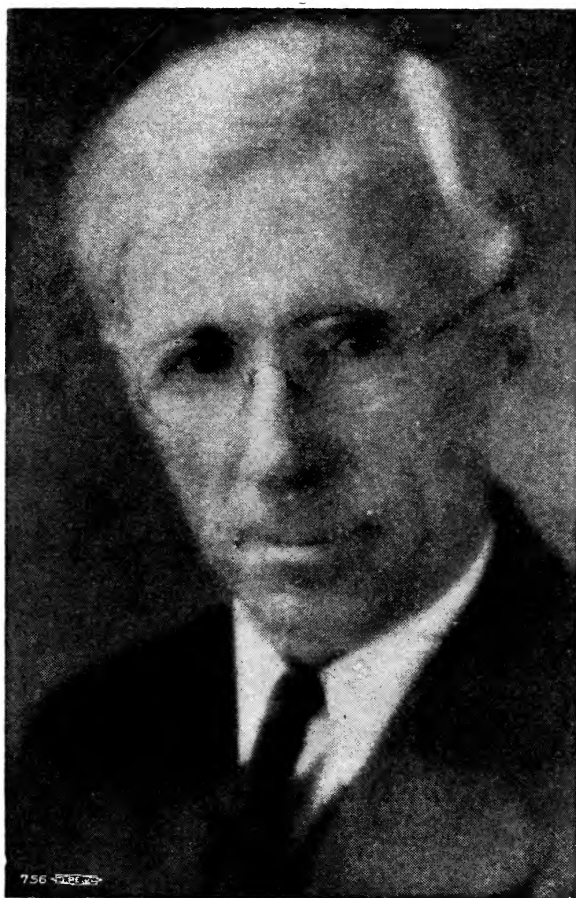


PRINTED IN U. S. A.  
PRESS OF UNITED PRINTING COMPANY  
LOS ANGELES



Mrs. Claude Kincaide  
804 Montgomery St.  
West Monroe, La.

Phone  
5548-J



GEORGE ROSS KIRKPATRICK, 1867-1937

Mind Digest -  
Editorial Office  
Landcaster - Pa

Because they apply so perfectly to this book and to the world situation today, the following paragraphs by the same author are reprinted here:

## FROM PREFACE TO "WAR—WHAT FOR?"

The most important thing on the program in the politics of the world today is to rouse the working class to realize itself, to be conscious of itself, to see itself and also see distinctly the age-long conspiracy of the ruling class; the supreme business of the hour is to rouse the working class for the crowning victory in the evolution of mankind—for the industrial freedom of the working class, for the peace and the calm born of justice, for the beauty and the glory of the brotherhood of man.

This book is written to help instruct and rouse the working class; and if in some small measure this unpretentious book carries light to the brains of my younger brothers . . . . —and thus helps *stir my class* to a consciousness of their class and thus helps *advance the demand for justice and the demand for a reconstructed, socialized society*, my reward will seem abundant.

July 4, 1910.

—GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

\* \* \* \* \*

## FROM PREFACE TO THE TENTH EDITION OF "WAR—WHAT FOR?"

To those of my readers who may find the style, method and arrangement of this book discordantly neglectful of the conventional amenities of polite book-making, I take this opportunity to say: It seems to me that both the tearful and the technical, the please-be-good and the "perfectly proper" methods of treating war and militarism<sup>1</sup> have been overworked and proved ineffective. WAR — WHAT FOR? is not intended for flute-toned, perfumed ornamental uselessness in the present revolution;<sup>2</sup> on the contrary, this book is distinctly designed for ungloved, flint-fisted conflict for the rapid creation of public opinion against an immeasurable outrage—a book to be used by men and women who are too splendidly sincere, too big and busy to insist over-much on elegant etching for their military cutlery.

—GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK, *April, 1914.*

<sup>1</sup>The same is true of the profit system.

<sup>2</sup>The author's definition of *revolution* can be found on p. 249.

## INTRODUCTION

This book is the last work of my late husband, George R. Kirkpatrick,—his last message to the down-trodden workers, for whose welfare he toiled unceasingly for thirty-five years. In June, 1902, he resigned as teacher of history and political economy at Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin, in order to make an intensive study of Socialism, which he did for a full year. From that time until he passed away March 17, 1937, he devoted himself to the cause of the workers to the exclusion of advantage for himself. During the World War, when it was a dangerous thing to stand openly for peace and against the capitalist system, which made the war inevitable, he made three speaking trips for the Socialist Party, and on four occasions he barely escaped with his life when he was mobbed by victims of the war hysteria. He never faltered in his stand, either during the war or at any other time.

It has been my great consolation, as well as a serious obligation and a sacred trust, to assemble the nearly completed material into form for publication. My aim has been to follow my husband's plans and purposes as exactly as possible,—to change nothing and to add nothing of importance. Fortunately, my beliefs and convictions are in close harmony with those of my husband, and he had talked to me many times about the book.

The reader will notice that the statistics stop, naturally, a year and a half back; but the facts are essentially the same or worse today, and the conclusions to which they lead are still the same. In fact, some of the statements written several years ago are prophetic of what has happened since.

My deep gratitude goes out to the many friends who have helped this book toward publication with advice, encouragement, suggestions and financial aid. Special appreciation is due to Art Young, who interrupted work that he already had on hand in order to add his genius to the book by making the illustrations in memory of his old friend George.

The purposes of this book are threefold: first, to give to

the suffering and puzzled millions of this nation the facts about our country's present ability to provide an unprecedented physical well-being for all its people; second, to explain its failure and the impossibility of its doing so under the present economic system; and third, to urge all workers (including everybody who renders any service to society) to rouse from their long, deep apathy, to plan and demand a system of industry that will make possible the use of our present wonderful production capacity for the benefit of all our people.

If this book helps toward these ends it will be a fitting memorial to George R. Kirkpatrick, whose dominating purpose in life was to further humanity's progress in its long struggle upward toward justice and happiness for all.

FLORENCE H. KIRKPATRICK.

\* \* \*

## INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

The very effectiveness of this book makes its advertising difficult because large publicity mediums are controlled by those whose profits depend on the system which this book attacks so powerfully. It lacks the publishers' facilities for distribution because the author's desire for low price made it necessary for me to assume the responsibility of private publication. By considerable personal sacrifice I have been able to keep the price down to half what a regular publisher would have charged. This low price also hampers advertising by leaving very little margin to pay for it. However, this low price makes it possible for the book to serve as a wide-spread educational instrument.

In this critical time in the world's history, when the profit system is swiftly approaching collapse, we are faced with a race between disaster and education. Will the present insane system be bolstered up for centuries by some form of dictatorship? Or can we reconstruct our social system before it is too late? This tool is offered to you to brush away the fog from the brains of the misinformed people and rouse them for a fundamental, but peaceful and democratic, solution of the greatest question of our time.

The 150,000 circulation of "WAR—WHAT FOR?" was accomplished through the enthusiasm and determination of "Jimmy Higginses" throughout the country. The first edition of this book also has been distributed by the efforts of a few who immediately recognized its value and ordered five or ten books at a time and sold them. This second edition is made possible by some of the same members of the "glorious minority." Whether it will be possible to publish more editions depends on the amount of co-operation given by those who believe in its message. It's up to all of us!

December 22, 1939.

FLORENCE H. KIRKPATRICK.

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## PREFACE

*The meek shall inherit the dearth  
The proud shall inherit the earth.*

This book is written for the damned,—the socially damned; for the robbed, ruined, wronged and worried,—the multitude of discouraged common people, damned by poverty, want and privation, damned also by meekness, the meekness that makes them whimper in want in the midst of plenty. Enfeebled by custom and despair, they cannot “get” the meaning of the ringing call of Science and the socialized industrial engineers:

“Plenty is now possible for all the people.”

Spiritually sterilized, thoroughly tame and domesticated, the meek and lowly multitude, most of them, at present play a tragi-farcical role in our national economic drama, while most of the well-fed ‘eminent leaders’ of society (also spiritually emasculate) seem stone deaf, blind, utterly bewildered. The present tragi-comedy in America is just this:—

*Society is embarrassed by abundance.*

Times are hard because the workers are soft,—too meek and modest to demand plenty in a world of plenty for everybody.

This book will be helpful to readers who think a chicken-hawk will become a vegetarian, if spoken to kindly; however, the book can be of no service to any one who has been “dead” more than ten years,—too “dead” to realize the social insanity and the jungle cruelty of the profit system, particularly at the present stage of industrial development.

It is doubly certain that this unpretentious volume can not serve those whose learning, or culture, or cash, or social distinction cripples their common sense, or sense of justice, and thus renders them too blind to read the clock of human progress, and realize that the *dominant issue of our time* is simply this:

Is plenty too much for the common people?

Shall the working people live a little or live a lot?

Shall the lives of the so-called “common herd” be shriveled by Scarcity, or enriched and expanded by Abundance?

Let’s wake up and live! This may be our last chance.

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.



### TANTALUS

It can be done, if he makes good use of the tools of *organization* and the *ballot* to break the chains.

—ART YOUNG.



# CHAPTER I

## TO HELL WITH PLENTY FOR THE "COMMON HERD"

### or PHILANTHROPIC THROAT-CUTTING

This is an unconventional book, — quite informal, don't you know? For illustration, in the very first chapter we shall move the lid of Hell a little to one side and let you peep in and see the Devil with nearly all his clothes off—almost embarrassingly nude. In this chapter also we have an account of the greatest show on earth: the greatest exhibition of legal throat-cutting in our dear country's history, — big business, razors in hand, saving the country from utter disaster. Then in a later chapter we come face to face with the god worshipped by vast numbers of our leading citizens, especially those who have cash or "social position."

### THE NEW SITUATION

Suddenly and just recently, Science and Invention handed to the American people potential Abundance for all.

Plenty!

For all of us!

Now!

This is so confusing and embarrassing, a plain case of: "This is so sudden!"

This embarrassment is, of course, ridiculous in view of the fact that at least 100 million Americans live on far, far less than plenty.

Just imagine your own blushing embarrassment and shame, if your income were boosted tomorrow from, let us say, \$2500 to \$5000, thus doubling your purchasing power, and making you a larger part of the market, able to purchase far more abundantly of the abundance on the market! Such a daring, embarrassing thought! Almost bewildering, isn't it? Why . . . the social inconsistency, the shameful impudicity of the mere suggestion of plenty for you—even you!

How embarrassing it would be to be relieved of our embarrassment! Why, that would mean that 100 million Americans would be relieved from their present privations, and most

of their worries, which would be so distressing. Even the common people would be eating fine, thick, juicy steaks and fried young chicken. Worse than that,—even the farmers would be relieved of their embarrassment of insufficient market, and would have a general prosperity they have never yet dreamed of.

What a sad and dangerous thought—the common people happy! That won't do!

Our statesmen are red in the face, sweating, sitting up nights; they act as if they had been eating loco weed, puzzled to death with the problem of *what to do about the abundance the multitude are eager and able to produce.*

It's a "problem" all right; that is, if you don't care a —— about the common people.

Remember, the problem of abundance is absolutely new. This problem utterly baffles the "best minds," such as big business statesmen, "great economists," university presidents, people of "standing" you know. Fortunately, however, oh so fortunately, these "best minds" seem determined to go to the very bottom of this "great national problem," even if it takes two or three hundred years! Already these "best minds" have given this "whole mattah much deep thau-au-ght," and are still bravely boring toward the bottom of it.

Now while these mighty minds are absent, looking for the bottom of this problem, I'll report on their first findings up to date.

Plenty, beautiful abundance, now actually available for all of us: this *is*, right now, a national economic problem; and, strange as it may seem, this problem (as viewed by statesmen and Big Business) is:—not how to produce abundance for all, but how to avoid and prevent the production of abundance for all of us.

So here we go, with the problem of saving the country by preventing the production of plenty for all. Come on.

I will first state the problem, and then give the solution just about as you could hear the matter presented *in substance* at Yale University. (So just imagine you are now a student of political economy at Yale or Harvard.)

Follow closely.

(The following little lesson in the next three or four pages may seem to be too primary, too simple and easy for working people; but kindly be as indulgent as you can, for I have deliberately tried to make it simple, even sufficiently easy for advanced university students.)

## AN AVERAGE COLLEGE LESSON IN ECONOMICS

Yes (as industrial engineers have assured us) physically it *is* now practicable in the United States to produce abundantly for all the people; yet two facts stand out:

1. Many millions of workers, and their families, are in distress, actually miserable, in their lack of enough good food, clothing, etc., and have been so for years; and still—

2. As business men well know, it is dangerous to try to remove the misery (arising from *not having abundance*) by *producing abundance for all*.

So here arises the great national problem:

How to provide abundance without producing abundance.

How can our great, rich country *provide* abundance for all, and at the same time avoid the danger of *producing* abundance? In short, how does all this misery, this bewildering national embarrassment and this national danger originate? How does it come about that the production of abundance for all produces misery for multitudes?

Keep in mind, we are now studying *how* but not *why* abundance produces vast misery and national danger. Well, it is this way,—follow closely:

You see, the workers' buying power is far, far less than their producing power. Thus, in spite of their vast numbers, the common people who work for a living, are a poor market, an utterly inadequate market, for abundance. And, as we all know, without a prompt, ample market (*at a profit*) business stalls, is stuck with over-production, stuck in the mud of abundance.

So when, or if, the workers are permitted to go ahead and produce abundance for all, this vast abundance can not be sold; and hence there is, naturally, disastrous over-production. Then comes the slowing down of industry, unemployment for many millions, hard times and great suffering among the workers. The poor, dear workers! When they produce abundance for all, then they have such a hard time,—hunger, rags, humiliation and all that, sometimes for years and years.

This whole subject is very intricate, and, as the best minds assure us, requires deep thau-au-aught. In these days of astonishing machinery and improved methods in production, little does the average citizen realize this country's danger, the danger of over-production of food, clothing, furniture, homes, radios, automobiles, bath fixtures, etc.,—hundreds of such things,—the danger of producing everything for everybody. This hideous danger lurks all around us all the time now.

Now, as we all know, illustrations are a great help in mak-

ing things clear. So let us take the recent-present depression. As we study this illustration we must constantly keep in mind this strange social phenomenon, an almost appalling fact, to wit: Unfortunately, so very unfortunately, the workers innocently believe that when they are able to produce abundance, they should be permitted to do so! producing greater and greater and greater abundance for all! But, as we shall see more and more clearly, *this belief and willingness of the workers are now a constant threat of utter national disaster.*

(Don't forget, reader, this is a college lesson.)

Now back to 1929, to continue the illustration. Early in 1929 there was great danger of over-production. Therefore our nation's industry as a whole had been kept slowed down to only about three-fourths of full capacity. And even at that rate of controlled production industry collapsed at the end of the year. Factories, mills, and mines were shut down or violently slowed down; millions of workers were placed on part time; and more than fifteen million workers were discharged.

But this had to be done! Keep in mind that the common people, the multitude, did not have incomes sufficient to buy abundantly of the abundance. Thus the market was glutted, hopelessly inadequate. Hence the breakdown, the collapse and misery; a most extraordinarily deplorable breakdown in our nation's industry, with misery everywhere as we could all see then, and as we can all see yet all around us, after seven years. [Also after nine years.—F. H. K.]

(Still a college lesson.)

But . . . but, *but* here's another phase of that disaster which makes the whole matter still clearer.

It is quite generally overlooked that in the recent-and-present industrial depression, our country barely escaped a vastly greater industrial collapse and national disaster, from which our brilliant big business men saved our country. You see, in spite of the over-production in 1929, the plain producers (being without university culture and therefore not able to understand) as usual were eager to produce still more! Almost on their knees they urged, teased, coaxed, pleaded, almost whined for jobs,—that is, for permission to go right on producing still greater abundance so that everybody could easily have plenty.

But if the multitude of workers had been permitted to go ahead briskly, vigorously, piling up plenty, then there would have been, of course:

*far greater production, and thus  
far greater over-production, and thus  
far greater industrial collapse, and thus*

*far greater* unemployment, and thus (the unemployed being poorer buyers)

*far greater* shrinkage in the market just when we needed more market, and thus

*far, far greater* national industrial collapse, with indescribably *greater* misery.

On and on!

Our country *was* thus threatened,—threatened desperately, yet simply, by vastly greater over-production; that is, threatened simply but awfully through the eager, patriotic willingness of the workers to produce unparalleled abundance for all the people, including farmers, mechanics, a million or two of American Legionnaires, hundreds of thousands of school teachers and such! (even such as the author of this book).

Indeed, that is precisely what the “ignorant common herd” who work for a living would have done in that crisis, *if the country had not been protected against them*. There was imminent danger that the country might go insane, and (intelligently) decide to keep on producing greater and greater abundance for all.

Sublime crisis!

Think what might have happened if statesmen, eminent economists, people of culture, the “best minds,” had not understood the situation and sounded the warning!

(Still a college lesson.)

Bravely Big Business stepped to the front, shining sabres in hand (that is, possessing the legal right to do as they pleased), and *saved this country*. As you remember, Big Business (having been warned by brains) acted with promptness and courage; hurriedly they put millions of workers on part time, patriotically fired sixteen million eager workers, closed thousands of mills, mines, shops and factories, and bravely, patriotically faced the multitude, the common people, the mob!—faced the sixteen million unemployed and their families;—thus these brave business men compelled the workers *to let up on producing greater and more disastrous abundance*.

By doing this promptly they kept the suffering down to a reasonable amount: only about 22 million went on dole, only about 50 million were sorely pressed, and not more than 20 million others were keenly embarrassed. Thus they avoided having, later on, to cut the industrial throats of far more than 20 million workers, and let them bleed far longer, and thus boost the number on dole up to, say, 35 millions, and, have altogether fully a hundred million common people in hideous misery, or harsh privation, or humbling embarrassment; which would have

happened if industry had been kept going briskly for a few more years as in the early part of 1929.

Thus the nation escaped, say, 5000 degrees of industrial hell-fire heat, simply by keeping the temperature down to a reasonable point,—only 2500 degrees. Truly it was a narrow escape, brilliantly accomplished by brains and Big Business, protecting the country, as they always do, from the common people who are thoughtlessly eager to produce abundance for the entire population.

(End of the college lesson.)

Well, reader, what do you think of this lesson?

Clearly the big boys are bankrupt in social vision and social intention.

Why don't they overtake prosperity? Because they dare not acknowledge, or will not admit, or do not know the remedy. Cold and blind, it never occurs to them: reward the workers with plenty to buy plenty; though \$10 a day for forty million workers, 300 days per year, would make a 120 billion dollar home market for American goods and services; and American production capacity in 1929 was more than 120 billion dollars. (We shall see in this book.)

Later in this chapter you will find, in their own words, their confession that this idea *is* new to most of them.

What do the industrial masters say about plenty for everybody? Simply this: "To hell with the idea of plenty for everybody! Abundance for mere farmers and wage-earners, school teachers and such, is simply ridiculous and unnecessary; and we simply won't stand for the damned nonsense of abundance for the common people. It's unprofitable."

Thus do they rob us and laugh at us; wreck us, sneer at us, slay our hopes and mock us.

American capitalists will give a billion dollars reward for an answer to the following question:

How can American industry avoid the production of abundance or destroy abundance, and do it in such a manner as not to attract attention, offend, rouse and anger the multitude who are kept too poor to buy the abundance they need?

This problem is positively a thumping headache to nearly all rich people. In other words, reader, the "people of culture" (most of them) agree entirely with the big business men who easily solve the whole problem of abundance, and put it in a nutshell in these affectionate words:

"Plenty *is* too much, and the best *is* too good, for the common herd. We will, as usual in recent practice, have plenty

produced for the industrial ruling class and for our henchmen; and, regardless of all scientific industrial progress, we will, as usual, have less than plenty (and not the best) produced for the common herd."

This nation's masters also, in practice, decree:

"If, and whenever, by chance or miscalculation, we have had produced plenty for all the people, still the common people shall not have plenty of the plenty. The common herd shall have no more than they can buy with the petty incomes which we allow them **at a profit for us**. The excess? 'What will we do with the excess?' That's easy: We will store it, bury it, burn it, let it rot, peddle it in foreign lands, or feed it to the beasts, buzzards and maggots." (See Chapter: The Buzzards' Victory.)

This gives us a glimpse of the Devil with all his clothes off, leering and sneering, boasting "success." Naturally he grins, for he roasts his hungry victims for being willing to produce plenty to eat for everybody and plenty of everything else for everybody, even including themselves.

Precisely so!

Perhaps seven or eight or ten long years of this flat, bold brutality of big business will help the workers understand not only *how*, but *why* national abundance for everybody (including the "nobodies") is a national embarrassment for the "somebodies."

Why, in less than seven *months* even a trusting, romantic young pullet or a gay and unsuspecting young rooster gets wise to the *general policy of chicken hawks*,—the attitude of chicken hawks toward chickens,—gets wise to the chicken hawks' ideas of justice. A chicken hawk prefers to have chickens in good condition *to eat*, but is not willing for chickens to become *independent of chicken hawks*, with plenty to eat and a place to play and *plenty of protection* against chicken hawks. That is so clear that even I can understand it.

### "KNOCK 'EM DOWN"

"Knock 'em down! Roll 'em over! Slip on the handcuffs! Hold 'em down! We've got 'em now,—got 'em down! We win! No more impudence and insolence from the workers of this country. No more strikes, strutting and boasting by our hired people. No more wage-boosting in this country. At last we business men have forty million wage-earners cornered, completely cornered, down on their knees. Fifteen million of them are jobless and hungry, and twenty-five million workers are scared stiff lest they lose their jobs to the eager and hungry mul-

titude now out of work. Forty million wage-earners are up against a cold stone wall, shivering with fear, timid, humble and obedient, willing to work harder and faster than ever before to hold the jobs they have or get the jobs they want. American labor wars are over! Victory rests on our banner. From now on we business men can go ahead and manage our business without fear of long-haired Socialists, red-eyed Communists, strutting labor leaders and other pestiferous disturbers. The rude, wild winds of industrial depression have brought the employer class at least one extraordinary blessing: it has delivered the working class into the grip of the employer class. Now away with strikes and down with wages!"

Actually, reader, the foregoing language fairly expresses the rejoicing meanness, the whispering malice, the stupid policy and brutal purpose of the employers of the United States in 1932 and '33. It seems unbelievably wicked and witless,—yet it is true. Let me tell you about it.

First we must go back a little to a good starting point when "wages were wonderful" and employers were therefore venomously jealous of the high wages, high spirit and high hopes, and the magnificent courage and defiance of American Labor,—back in the third quarter of 1918. In that year, before the close of the World War, while our soldiers were still being shot, gassed and infected with disease, still being crippled and slaughtered on five hundred miles of battleline in Europe,—at that time, such a time!—the very climax of the world's agony,—Stephen C. Mason, President of the American Association of Manufacturers, had a long article in a popular magazine, angrily complaining against "ridiculously high wages" and urging his fellow employers to organize at once and boldly smash wages when our soldiers returned, needing jobs: "In the present period of inflation the chief gain has been to the wage-earner. . . . The supply of labor will then (when peace is concluded) equal and likely exceed the demand, and those groups now in a position to make exorbitant demands will find their power gone." (*Everybody's Magazine*, Sept., 1918, p. 39.)

True it is that when this special war against wages and welfare for the workers began the American employers were making—and for years had been making—amazing profits, gorging on profits stained with tears and sweat and blood, profits ranging from 20 to 2000 per cent. True it is that in one twelve-month period of wartime business, the year 1916, 7925 new millionaires and multi-millionaires were added to America's list of "economic royalists." True it is the wartime business

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<sup>1</sup>*New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1917.



had produced at least 25,000 millionaires. True it is the federal government was giving the common people four and a half per cent interest for their money and, next day or week, paid that same money for steel-copper-and-lumber products at a profiteer price that meant far more than an average hundred per cent profit to the plunderers. Still—no matter!—"wages must be slashed," argued the Big Boys.

Now another glimpse of the beautiful "American spirit" in business.

In bleak December, 1931, when the nation's millions of unemployed were shivering around the nation's closed factories coaxing for permission to produce abundance for all, and their millions of women and children, including under-nourished sucklings, were desperate in their hunger, rags and shoddy, *just at that time*, when winter winds were cutting the unemployed, Silas Strawn, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, took a wide referendum among big business men in the nation's leading chambers of commerce and other great business organizations on this question:

"Shall the U. S. Government help the nation's desperate unemployed?" The question was not on helping with plenty, but on helping with *anything at all*. The vote closed December 14th and boastfully he published the result:

197—Yes.

2534—No!

Thus the nation's biggest business men, with President Hoover's hearty "Amen," voted nearly 13 to 1 against having the nation's government protect the nation's helpless, starving unemployed, whom the nation's big business men brutally *prohibited from producing plenty for all the people of the nation*.

Remember the vote—**13 to 1**,—remember till you die.

In that 13 to 1 vote shines a soul of polished steel. That vote unmask, strips naked, for all to see, the "American Spirit" of American business in the American jungle,—tears the veil from the strutting, sneering, leering leaders; that vote shouts their icy attitude toward the helpless humble whom they skin and scorn,—just as the talons of a hawk in the breast of a chicken reveal the spirit and attitude of the feathered, armed assassin toward chickens,—just as a tiger's tusks in the throat of a writhing bullock reveal the spirit of distinguished killers in the jungle.

That vote helps clarify the whole situation, including the matter of over-production. Even a ten-year-old boy or girl, aye, even a highly cultivated university president, in the blaz-

ing light of this 13 to 1 vote could more easily understand why plenty is too much, and why abundance is "dangerous." Place more 13 to 1 Big Business men on guard over American industry, and our country will be safe!—"safe from the mob," safe from the multitude of common people, ever standing ready now to produce that terrible thing that haunts the land,—yes, our country will be safe from the ghastly national danger of over-production; that is, safe from the dread, damned danger of abundance for all the people.

It is enlightening to know that some considerable time after this 13 to 1 vote, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce simply changed its contemptuous tone to one of sympathetic softness, and sent hurried telephone calls and some proud messengers to plead in person with the government at Washington, "Help! Help! The deah people are starving!" But this handsome change of tune came when, *but not until*, millions of the teased, scorned, tormented victims of insane greed began to show their teeth and boldly snarl as they hungered and shivered, surrounded by "embarrassing" abundance.

Big Business men do not hesitate to capitalize, and they gladly plan to capitalize, even major disasters into advantages for themselves in the "profit game." For example:

In May, 1932, when many millions were unemployed, hungry and helpless, the nation's leading business men, the big, bold, proud and ruthless dominating leaders, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, held a convention in San Francisco. These men met behind closed doors, excluded all reporters and even ordered the stenographer to make one, *and only one*, copy of the proceedings "to go under lock and key," instead of several as usual. Even the expert news-hawks of the New York Times couldn't get an inside "low-down" on what was said.

Fortunately, the convention "leaked"\* enough to reveal the Chamber's fierce scorn for Labor, and its merciless cunning,—planning to take advantage of unemployment to slash wages, wreck strikes, crush Labor's spirit, damn Labor's hopes, and in the cruel fires of the panic forge new shackles for the wrists of Labor. The "leak" explained that the startling, cold-blooded brutality, the sheer rawness and frothing Fascistic ferocity exhibited in the discussion and proposals made publication simply impossible.

With these "big, brainy business men," with these generals and captains of industry, the idea of plenty for everybody was a "red," "socialistic," "communistic," revolutionary thought, to

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\*This information came directly from a man who attended that convention. For obvious reasons the name cannot be given.

be hissed at with bitter snarls,—an idea never to be permitted as any part of the policy and practice of business.

For cruelty and craftiness that convention was the limit. This body considered behind guarded doors the new idea of a “best mind,” Mr. Sloane of General Motors, appointed by President Hoover to find a solution for the unemployment problem. That idea was: multiply the jobs by cutting them in two and also cutting the wages in two; and thus *let the slaves carry the slaves* by dividing up their wages, and thus keep down taxes on the U. S. Chamber tribe of “very best people.” Walter C. Teagle, President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, expounded the “big idea,” one of the most brutal ideas ever hatched in the brain of modern greed. With joyful shouts and hand-clapping the U. S. Chamber of Commerce adopted this masterpiece of industrial meanness as the standard policy for American employers; and gleefully selected K. R. Kingsbury, President of the Standard Oil Company of California, to teach American employers the beauty and sound business of this “big idea.” Thousands of employers adopted this plan. “Wonderful! Great idea! It works!” The B. B. men were delighted.

This sabre-toothed, Standard Oil, Chamber of Commerce plan of “share the work and split the wages” was, admittedly, to accomplish six things:

First. The grumbling, cursing, threatening fifteen million unemployed are thus to be soothed, quieted, rendered harmless with jobs, brought to their knees with gratitude;

Second. The twenty-five millions already employed are to be humbled and made afraid to strike, brought to their knees with fear of losing the jobs they have;

Third. The “high cost of production” is to be lowered by slashing “high” wages;

Fourth. Very important:—hereafter, more and more, the “out-of-works” must be carried upon the shoulders of those that work; and thus business men can be protected against having to pour so many tens of millions into the community chest;

Fifth. The higher taxes, especially on the high-bracket incomes are rendered less necessary, thus also saving hundreds of millions for the Big Boys;

Sixth. More loyalty from the worker to the employer. Millions of workers are working faster than ever, with less open complaint than before, because of their fear of losing their jobs in these cruel times.

So the Big Boys’ Convention of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce would “knock ’em down,” and win six ways against Labor! Well, all right, Big Boys, your cold, dull treason

against the multitude is but one more swift, long march toward the Revolution,—toward the vast and splendid Reconstruction.

March on! Lead on!

“Knock ’em down”? You wake them up. Your solution: our revolution!

Isn’t it interesting, instructive and sinister that no report of that convention has ever been published in the Chamber’s own organ, *The Nation’s Business*! I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to admit or deny that reporters and the public were excluded from the sessions of that convention, and put off with the merest dribblets of “news” concerning the discussions. I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to admit or deny that only one copy of the proceedings of that convention was made. (They innocently hoped that no one inside would “say a word outside.”) I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to furnish a copy of the proceedings to the labor press, or to the Executive Committee of the A. F. L. and of the C. I. O., or to any national church organization for investigation. I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to explain why honest men should object to having the public informed on what honest men in an honest convention honestly decided.

I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to show how over-production can be cured by enforcing under-consumption. I challenge the Chamber of Commerce to point out anywhere in history a greater exhibition of stupidity than was made by themselves in San Francisco in 1933, stupidity so vast and sinister they dare not be frank with the public on their cold cruelty shown in that convention.

President Hoover appointed a Committee of learned men, “best minds,” to investigate recent economic changes in connection with unemployment in this country. The Committee made a report in two volumes, from which we gather three priceless pearls:

*First*, that “leaders in industrial thought discovered (!) increased wages improved the market.” (How wonderful! Christopher in business!) But not till “some time after the war”. So Big Business and the economists hadn’t even noticed till recently that the compulsory misery of the multitude (the compulsory scarcity policy) had anything to do with Success in Production!!

“Until comparatively recent times, the problem of industry was to produce in sufficient quantity to supply the demand. Today the problem of industry is largely that of disposing of its products.” (*Hoover Com. R.E.C.*, p. 81.)

No embarrassment at all! Just prevent the production of abundance (as is now done); then the embarrassment of distribution disappears. How simple!

*Second*, the committee admits that they began "consciously" (1) to propound the principle of building up the market by paying the workers, not plenty, but simply a little more, as a "new idea." They (the leaders of industrial thought) were quick to grasp the significance of the power of the consumer with money to spend, to create an accelerated cycle of productivity (a greater market for larger production). Wonderful! But the Committee refuses to denounce the system of compulsory scarcity. That is to say, President Hoover's Big Business committee of "learned best minds" are puzzled, stuck, with *the problem* of what to do about, or with, the plenty, while the breadwinners of 100 million Americans are refused a reward of plenty to buy plenty of the plenty!

*Third*, the Committee admits that this new principle "has since attracted the attention of economists all over the world", and "its application is so novel as to impress the committee."!!! (*Com. on Recent Economic Changes*, Int., p. 14.)

This confession, so naively and obtusely stated, by these scholarly "best minds," is proof that even the "leading economists of the world" have been silent on plenty for the "common herd"; and this confession (in a solid front with big business) is also a clear indication that the idea of *abundance* for the common people, the idea of rewarding the workers with plenty to buy plenty of the plenty, is today, in 1937 A. D., as deeply buried under the ice of quiet cruelty and brutal indifference of learning and culture, as the idea of freedom for the black slaves, or an eight-hour day for the white workers, or votes for poor whites, or the idea of votes for women, was similarly buried in the ice of the cultivated, cold-blooded male citizens' contempt in 1789, when Washington was inaugurated under our "democratic constitution."

Such facts as these reveal the spirit of the "best people." The distinguished Few have despised the "common herd" through the ages.

These last few paragraphs are certainly not intended to belittle culture; but we have a right to keep the historical record straight; and we also have the right to demand now:

Where do the presidents of nearly six hundred American colleges and universities,—where do these and other eminent "best minds" stand *now* on the proposition of plenty,—abundance *now* for the common people?

The Giant Labor, if mentally dynamited with facts that

clear the brain, facts that strip the fraud called "over-production," Labor, the common people, will "wake up and live."

Righto!

Meanwhile the common people (as yet "not wise"), on their knees as a class, trusting the industrial chicken hawks, are too blind to see, too meek to dare, and thus too weak to stand up and face these quacks, cheats and snobs,—and *stand together* and curse the fraud and damn the lie of "over-production of tood" while sixty millions of the nation's people are under-nourished;—too weak to damn the lie of "over-production of wool" while scores of millions shiver in shoddy; too weak to damn the lie of "over-production of homes" while more than half the families of the nation have no paid-for lovely homes of their own;—too weak to damn the lie called "over-production" though 100 million Americans live on less than plenty. Meek, humble, lowly, the workers (except for a glorious minority), the workers as a class, pitiably prideless, like boneless worms, take all of life's wrongs lying down, while the "best minds" despise them, and Big Business, 13 to 1, kicks them in the face with:

"Bah! To hell with the common herd!"

I wish I could afford to offer

\$1000 REWARD

to the reader who in the next sixty days reads at least as much as Chapter One (or something equivalent to it) to the largest number of his neighbors.

# THE PROBLEM OF THE HOUR

HAVE I SENSE ENOUGH TO WANT PLENTY?

HAVE I GRIT ENOUGH TO GO AFTER PLENTY?

or

AM I A PLAIN DUB

TOO DULL AND TAME AND MEEK

to

THINK OF PLENTY,

WANT PLENTY

and

UNITE AND FIGHT FOR PLENTY?

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*“It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts.”—From WAR—WHAT FOR?*



## CHAPTER II

### MAN'S CLIMB TO POWER or THE CONQUEST OF NATURE

"Science is the soul of the prosperity of nations and the living source of all progress."—*Pasteur*.

#### IF THE HUMAN HAND WERE A HOOF!

Long, long ago the four-footed ancestors of man learned to stand erect, and the two forefeet, thus set free from walking, became hands, with increasingly deft fingers with which to "work at" things. If what became the human hand had developed into a hoof, progress, science and civilization would have been impossible. Regardless of perfect eyes, ears, nose,—no hands, no progress! The mind had a thousand more puzzles to solve on its long journey toward science and scientific achievement, which is at last ready, in the industrial field, now, *right now in our time*, to solve the problem of "getting a living," a good living, in a few short hours per day, and thus release us all from the daily grind, and let man climb to new heights.

Can you *stand up spiritedly* and *walk alone* "on your hind legs," or do you go "on all fours," spiritually humble as a dog, spiritually dumb as an ox, spiritually weak as a worm, spiritually an easy mark, spiritually satisfied with less than plenty in a land of plenty?

#### THE MARCH OF SCIENCE

The great increase in production beginning in the 18th century is called the First Industrial Revolution. But, unserved by science as we think of science now, that industrial progress was tame and slow compared with the speed-up in production capacity in the twenty years following 1915. In the 18th century sciences were few and in their infancy, serving but weakly in the speed-up of industry; but now after the conquests of the 19th century, the "wonderful century," and after the astounding developments of the first three decades of the incomparable 20th century, industry is served by scores of sciences exceedingly well developed, and annually flashing forward in achievement.

The University of Cambridge had no laboratory for the experimental study of the physical sciences before 1874, and the famous Cavendish Laboratory dates only from 1876.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*Men of Science*, by J. Crowther, p. 315.

The international progress in science, of late, is truly amazing. For example:

Dr. Harlow Shapley, distinguished astronomer of Harvard University, very recently said that scientific astronomical knowledge has doubled in the last twenty years! That is, all of the knowledge and achievements of all the searchers of the star-strewn sky, during all the tens of thousands of years from the time the stars first caught the human eye,—down to the final cooling of the cannon of the World War,—all that progress has been increased 100% in the last twenty years!

And thus it goes along all fronts in the scientific world.

Proudly and justifiably men distinguished in medicine and surgery claim swift-marching science has made more progress in the last 65 years than in all the preceding thousands of years of human effort to conquer disease and surgically repair the human body.

One hundred eight years ago the atom was unknown, the structure of the molecule a complete mystery to chemists, and a systematic synthesis, construction and invention of new molecules, at will, was not even dreamed of. Today, chemists analyze (dismantle) molecules, take them apart, resolve them into their invisible atomic units, and then systematically reassemble them in new forms of matter. They can thus construct 250,000 new substances called carbon compounds. Most of this is work of very recent decades, rendering to industrial progress service that is incalculably helpful in speeding our march to the goal of plenty for everybody.

Dr. Forest Ray Moulton of the University of Chicago, outstanding among the most distinguished scientists of the world, assures us that what has been accomplished in nearly every branch of science in the last *twenty or thirty years* surpasses all that had been accomplished in *all the preceding hundreds of thousands of years.*\*

Thus marches the royal army of scientific learning in the service of the truth in *hundreds of scientific fields* each year pushing *faster and faster into the realms of the unknown*, conquering new territory by and for the human mind, enriching human life, with plenty for the body's needs and abundance for the soul, urging that the "struggle for a living" may soon cease to be a belittling and blinding business for the wolfish purpose of Profits for the Few. The achievements of science in the last fifty years and the swift flash forward in the last twenty years in the scientific world, begin to make the universe the true home of the human mind; and at last,—at last,—begin to break

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\*F. R. Moulton: *The Nature of the World and of Man*, p. 2.

the shackles and remove the spikes that hold the common people on the cross of want and worry.

## SOCIAL ETHICS OF THE SCIENCES

Fortunately, in a large and beautiful way, scientists of the whole world constitute a glorious Fellowship of Progress, and (when not hindered by international butchery contests or by the domineering profit-lusters of the profit system) the true scientists of all the world, careless of profits for themselves, eager for light, haunted by a holy passion for truth and progress, are federated co-operators for international team work in the service of mankind, pooling their resources for research, and pooling their findings, more and more promptly each year.

Just to illustrate: If on the date you read this page a very important discovery should be made by a true scientist, let us say in astronomy, biology, medicine or chemistry, the discoverer would promptly have the discovery flashed all over the world, and graciously published in national and international science journals and at early conventions,—fraternally presenting the discovery to mankind without thought of profits to himself, unless interfered with by petty and pompous profit-lusters.\*

Of course the profit-luster's disgusting instinct is to hide, hoard and peddle the results of scientific discoveries and inventions for profits for himself. For example, the owners of the trans-Atlantic cables did their best to induce the Canadian Government to refuse Marconi permission to build a receiving station for the first wireless message that flashed across the ocean and through a wild storm at sea brought the greatest single achievement in the lives of the human race for swift communication and distribution of knowledge. Why? Simply because the new wireless device would cut down their profits on the submarine cable investment.

Imagine a scientist peddling his discovery for profits, charging each farmer \$1000 for a successful method of treating hog cholera!

"In a sense scientific research is a triumph over natural instinct, over that mean instinct that makes a man secretive, that makes a man keep knowledge to himself and use it slyly to his own advantage . . . to 'keep shut' . . . score advantages, that is the wisdom of the common stuff of humanity still. To science it is a crime. The noble practice of that noble profession, medicine, for example, is to condemn as a quack and a rascal every

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\*See Michael Foster's Presidential Address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1849.

man who uses secret remedies." (H. G. Wells: *New Worlds for Old*, p. 23, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.)

In 36,000 scientific journals (one third of them in the English language), in thousands of institutions of learning, in thousands of laboratories throughout the world, and in national and international conventions and conferences,—in all these ways and with all these means, science serves progress. A vast army of keen, trained men and women, co-operating nationally and internationally, are making discoveries, developing, clarifying and spreading scientific knowledge, and pouring inspiration into all lands. Glorious regiments of the devotees of science, with thousands of new volunteers every year,—all these are eagerly searching the vast book of Nature for her boundless forces and resources, and (praise their noble souls) these soldiers of the peaceful army of Science in their quiet war for the common good, are fighting for you and me; all of them are eager to contribute to the volume and rate of human progress, to the richness of life, to Abundance for all. Always they strive to drive away the fog of ignorance that has for ages delayed the march of Man up to Manhood, and boost the onward march of mankind, building a wide highway to physical and spiritual welfare for all of us. Their success is amazing. Their very recent swift achievements astound both the thoughtless and the thoughtful all over the earth.

These and thousands more,—in Art, Literature, Philosophy, Education,—have added the supreme riches and glory to civilization, and have done it gladly, beautifully, socially, without the net cash profit "incentive to do their best."

### SCIENCE IN INDUSTRY

Now progress in industry is largely a matter of achievement in Science. Science serves progress,—*is* progress. And science, at present, is a blaze of glory as it flashes forward in the thrilling world-wide hunt for the knowledge and control of really big game: the secrets and resources of Nature. Nature! who charges a single pound of steel with energy sufficient to pull a battleship around the world.

Scores of sciences serving industry are making progress at brilliant rates, and at rates *more rapid each year*. The steam and science speed-up of industry in the 18th century, the First Industrial Revolution, was followed a hundred years later by the amazing speed-up in what has been called the Electrical Age. But now we are clearly in another new phase of even

more phenomenal speed-up called the Chemical Age; and so swift has been the very recent consequent industrial speed-up that it is called the Second Industrial Revolution. Revolutionized, energized, galvanized by a titanic combination of steam, electricity, and the boundless resources of chemistry, served by all the thought of all the thinkers of all the ages, speeded up by the eager host of scientific researchers and inventors, industry is multiplying its efficiency in the production of plenty for everybody.

Thus Science places the harness on infinitely capable Nature, to ease the human burdens and speed up the march to plenty, while the engineers of industry are waiting for the multitude to rouse and meet them half way.

Today, standing upon the heaped-up findings of all the past, some 33,000 scientific searchers in the United States alone, are eagerly busy in hundreds of laboratories, where in recent years an average of two hundred million dollars has been annually devoted to scientific research and application.

In 1925 there were in this country 200 industrial research laboratories; in 1935 there were 1700 of them. Here is a sample of intensive industrial research and invention: the best electric locomotive of a few years ago delivered one horsepower per 175 pounds of engine weight and a total of 2000 horsepower, whereas the best today delivers one horsepower per 80 pounds of engine weight, and a total of 5000 horsepower.

Take the conquest of power in the control of substance.

One ton of coal as ordinarily burnt is 60% lost; but through breaking down of coal tar, several hundred valuable substances are yielded. One ton of coal controlled yields:

- 1500 pounds of coke,
- 111,366 cubic feet of gas,
- 12 gallons of tar,
- 25 pounds ammonium sulphate, and
- 4 gallons of light oils.

The amount of energy in a pound of coal made available in 1935 for electricity, as heat, light and power, had doubled in the 16 years since 1919. One ton of freight can now be hauled one mile with less than one ounce of coal.

#### WHAT SCIENCE CAN DO FOR AGRICULTURE

A State Experiment Station cost the Federal Department of Agriculture \$18,000,000; but the scientific study and treatment of the stemrust devil of the barberry bush "producing"

aecidiospores, resulted in a saving of wheat loss more than equal to the total former product.

Investigations by the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station discovered the valuable fact that seven inches of soil stuff devoted to bluegrass will last 2800 years, but only from 50 to 250 years if devoted to corn, wheat, clover, according to cropping system.

Luther Burbank, in an address at the International Plant Breeding Conference in New York, Sept. 30-Oct. 2, 1902, said:

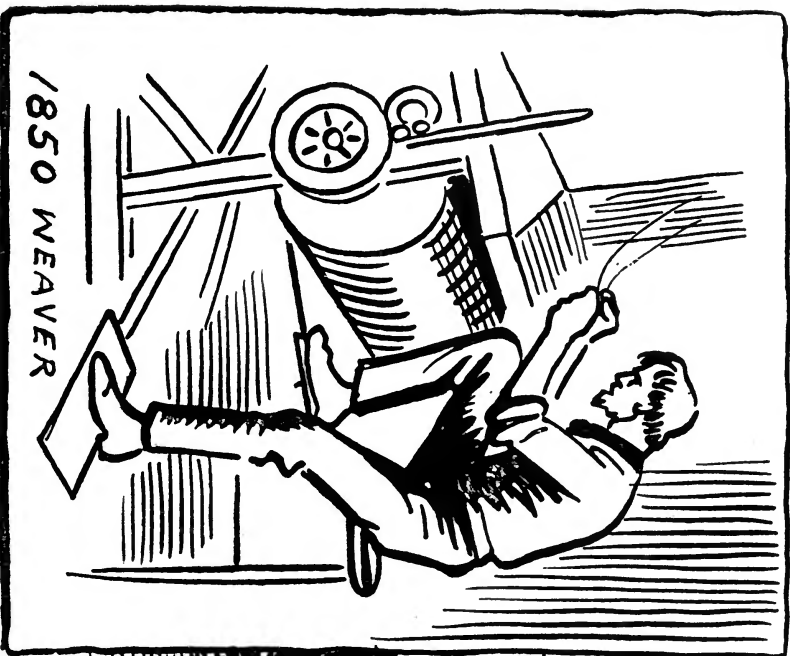
"The vast possibilities of plant-breeding can hardly be estimated. It would not be difficult for one man to breed a new rye, wheat, barley, oats or rice which would yield one grain more to each head, or a corn which would produce an extra kernel to each ear, or another potato to each plant, or another apple, plum or nut to each tree.

"What would be the result? In four staples only in the United States alone, the inexhaustible forces of nature would produce *annually*, without cost:

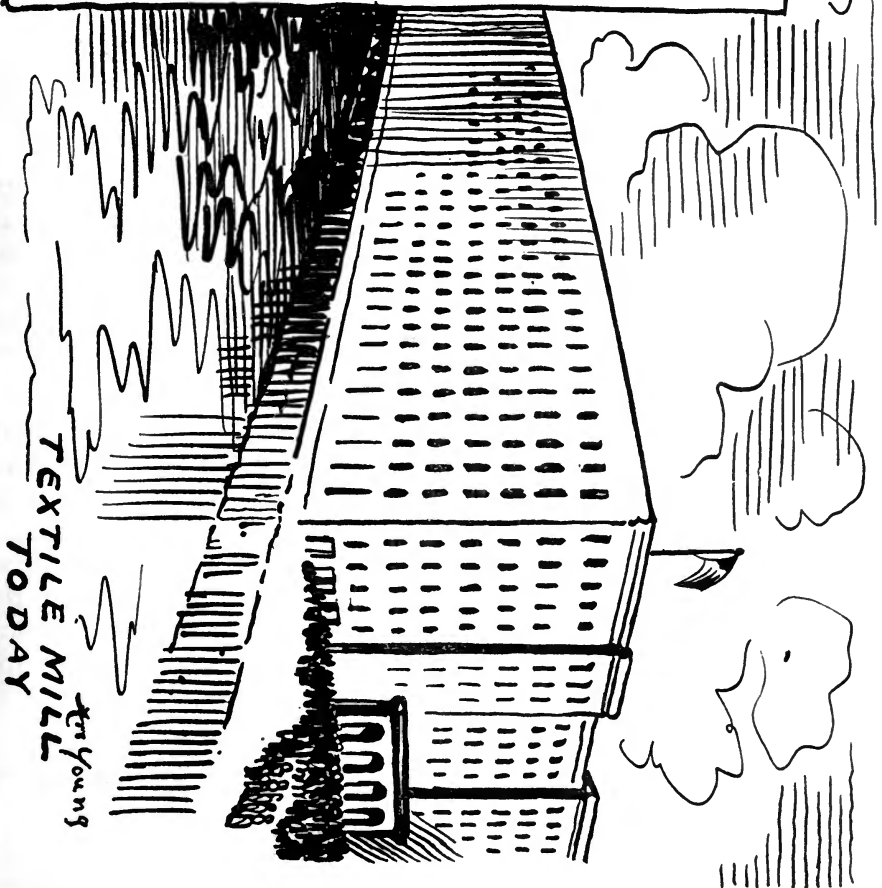
- 5,200,000 extra bushels of corn,
- 20,000,000 extra bushels of wheat,
- 1,500,000 extra bushels of barley,
- 21,000,000 extra bushels of potatoes.

"But these vast possibilities are not alone for our own time or race, but are beneficent legacies for every man, woman and child who shall ever inhabit the earth."

(Reader, compare this service of Science with the cruel sabotage of humanity's welfare practiced under our present economic system, pp. 117-132.—F. H. K.)



1850 WEAVER



TEXILE MILL  
TODAY

## MACHINE PROGRESS

In 1769 James Watt patented the first steam engine. Since then machine efficiency has increased more than it did in all the previous 7000 years of known history. By 1900 steam-run machines had multiplied man's productive power by 234,000 times. But the development of electrical energy near the end of the 19th century gave us single generators that do 9,000,000 times as much work as a hand-tool worker. Thus 97.4% of all this progress was accomplished in 29 years, or over 37 times as much as in the preceding 500,000!\*

Let me here set down a short list of items illustrating how modern machinery multiplies the workers' power to produce.

The A. O. Smith Corporation of Milwaukee, which produces 75% of all the auto frames used in this country except Fords, is electrically operated, with 2000 horse-power. In 1929, this plant each day turned one million pounds of steel into 10,000 auto frames,—one every eight seconds while operating, at a total cost of 50 cents to one dollar per frame, worth from \$50 to \$300 each. To make this number of frames with ordinary machinery and methods would require 1000 men; but this highly modern automatic machinery enables 200 men to do the same work, and they do not need to be as skillful as the workers in the simpler plant.\*

According to the Henderson-Lubin Report to the National Recovery Board, the Ford, General Motors and Chrysler Companies, which have a 90% domination of the auto business, showed an average increase of 20% in output per worker from 1929 to 1933; and the report further indicates that the increase is "probably greater for the entire auto industry than in these three plants."\*

Here the objection is raised: The labor cost is only a small part of the cost of manufacture, and part of the labor saved by machinery is taken up in making the machines. Do not be deceived by that fallacy. The same increased productivity per worker has taken place in every part of the manufacturing process,—the mining of the ore, the manufacture of the steel, the transportation to the factory, etc. Moreover, even the making of the modern, efficient machinery is done largely by automatic machinery. If building and installing labor-saving machinery

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\**The Great Technology*, by Harold Rugg, pp. 13, 67, 68.

\*Dexter S. Kimball: *Industrial Economics*, p. 298; C. C. Furnas: *The Next 100 Years*, p. 342; and Dr. Harold Loeb: *The Chart of Plenty*, pp. 67, 68.

\**Business Week*, Feb. 16, 1935.



furnished as much work for the working class as such machinery saved for the employer class, then how could such "labor-saving" machinery be of advantage to the employer class? You see, if, *in the long run*, the total wages saved to the capitalist class through installing labor-saving machinery, is, in turn, paid to other workers for making and installing such machinery, then the working class loses nothing and the capitalist class gains nothing!

I have recently watched two highway builders mixing petroleum in sand, then pressing it out flat, even and firm as a road surface. With each machine two men were doing as much as two hundred fifty men could do with hoes, shovels and hand tampers (and doing it better). The purpose of using these two machines was to do more and better work with far less labor.

In a huge steel mill near Pittsburgh, 2300 men in 1926-27 were able to turn out more steel product than 6000 men working at full capacity had ever before been able to turn out,—an increase of over 160% in the per-man production capacity: a contribution from the chemical and industrial engineers.

Labor in pig iron was more than twice as productive in 1927 as in 1911.

Two men can take 12 tons of ore from a lake steamer and load it on a steam-road car in three minutes. At Ashtabula, Ohio, a carload of coal can be unloaded and placed aboard a lake freighter in two minutes by two men.

All this makes it easier to understand how the Buick Automobile Company was recently able to increase its *production capacity* 1400% in 15 years and with a total increase in human labor in the same 15 years of only 10%.

Consider the "Big Four" in the tobacco industry:

In 1919, 24,474 workers made 53,119,000,000 cigarettes;

In 1931, 20,146 workers made 117,064,000,000 cigarettes.

An *increase* of 120% in production, with a *decrease* of over 17.9% in number of workers. During the same years the farmers' prices for tobacco *decreased* over 74%.

## CLOTHING

At the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago in 1934, I saw one man operating a spinning machine with which he could spin 1600 pounds of yarn in one day,—sufficient yarn to make 3000 men's shirts. With this spinning machinery one man, working 300 days per year, could spin sufficient yarn to

make four shirts each for 225,000 grown men; and 3000 spinners could spin each year enough yarn to make four shirts each for every man, woman and child in the United States. Nearby I saw another machine with which one man can weave yarn into 400 square yards of high-grade heavy cloth in one day. Allowing 20 square yards of such cloth for two suits, men's size,—twenty weavers in 300 days would produce the cloth for two such suits for each of 120,000 men.

Now most of the parts of these spinning and weaving machines are made with highly automatic machinery and very rapidly. Thus the machinery for making cloth can be multiplied in sufficient amount to furnish plenty of good clothing for all the people, and with the labor of but a few thousand workers.

Hand-knitting averages not more than 100 loops per minute; machine-knitting 500,000 loops per minute, and no errors.

Thus it is in food-production machinery. For example, flour-milling machinery of recent design multiplies the per-man output of the hand-tool flour miller 8000 times.

Thus, too, in transportation equipment. In 1929-30, the two million railway employees transported, in addition to passengers, mail and express, the equivalent of 383,000,000,000 tons of freight one mile. In order to accomplish the same freight service, without passengers or mail, with a good wagon and two strong horses, the means of one hundred years ago, it would have required 29 times as many workers. Are the incomes of the railway employees 29 times as high as those of the mule-skinner of a hundred years ago? Of course not.

### OTHER INDUSTRIES

The rate of increase in the per-man productivity from 1919 to 1925 was as follows:

- in the rubber industry over 19% yearly;
- in the automobile industry over 15% yearly;
- in the petroleum products industry over  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  yearly;
- in the cement industry nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  yearly.

Now that the worker can produce 10,000 times as many capscrews as in 1834, what about his wages, his "real" wages (that is, the purchasing power of his daily income) compared with his real wage of 1834? Have his real wages been multiplied by 10,000, or by 1000, or by 100, or even by 50? Don't make me laugh. True, the worker has become able to produce abundantly; but the employer doesn't need to, doesn't want to, doesn't have to, pay the worker sufficient to buy plenty. Plenty is too much.

## AGRICULTURE

Between 1923 and 1928 farm production increased 27% without using more acreage or man-power. Thus machinery on the farm reduces the number of workers on the farm, causing fewer opportunities for the farmers' children, and surplus farm population; while machinery in mining, manufacturing, etc., reduces opportunities for farmers' children when crowded off the farm,—increases production but not the market.

## INVENTIONS

The number of recorded inventions has increased since the 17th century at an amazing rate:

In the 17th century there were 57 inventions recorded;

In the 18th century there were 494 inventions recorded;

In the 19th century there were 2011 inventions recorded.\*

In the 20th century the number has jumped so high that during the last few decades the U. S. Patent Office has been issuing about 2000 patents per month. Between 1931 and 1934, 874 patents were granted to the Union Carbide Company alone.

Twentieth century inventions include the possibility of 48,000 telegraph messages at the same time on the multiple-sheathed small wires under the street surface at Broadway and Franklin Streets in New York City.

"More and more inventions are made every year, and there is no reason to think that technological development will ever stop. On the contrary, there is every reason to expect that more new inventions will be made in the future than in the past." (*Hoover's Com. on Recent Social Trends*, Vol. I, Introduction.)

## OBSOLESCENT MACHINERY

If all steel plants were as efficient as the best actually in operation in 1930, 3000 men could make the pig iron now made by 28,000 men. Steel sheet rolling methods have been revolutionized in the last few years. The six years from 1929 to 1935 was the most important period in improvement and speed-up of manufacturing processes that the steel companies have ever experienced, according to G. M. Verity of the American Rolling Mill Company. In 1934 the United States Steel Corporation, after deductions for depreciation, depletion, etc., carried its properties at the net amount of \$1,600,000,000; and they announced a \$140,000,000 modernization program, spending \$100,000,000 in 1935 on production facilities.

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\*Lewis Mumford: *Technics and Civilization*.

In sawmills if all were as efficient as the best, 45,000 men could do the work done by 292,000 men.

In the making of boots and shoes 28,084 men could do the work of 196,585.

Eighty per cent of all brickworkers would be out of work if all brick-making machines used were as good as the best, with one man running a machine making 49,000 bricks per hour.\*

## THE DIESEL ENGINE

The gas engine comes to full flower in the Diesel, which eliminates too early compression explosion and the expense and waste of petroleum refinement for fuel.

The Diesel engine is a power-producing machine which well illustrates man's recent, rapid success in getting the harness on nature for human service; and the recent speed of improvements in the Diesel engine also illustrates the recent and present rate of industrial progress.

In economy and efficiency in the use of a given unit of pull, the improvements in the Diesel engine in the last five or six years surpass all preceding improvements following Abbé d'Hautefeuille's invention of the first internal-explosion (gas) engine 350 years ago. The Diesel will have the general effect of *doubling or trebling the power available* in our oil and oil-shale supplies,—will surely make a back number of the steam engine, banish most of the conventional gas engines, and really bids fair even to render proud, costly and recent electrification of railways antiquated.

Here are some illustrations of recent performances of the Diesel:

A 900-horsepower, twelve-cylinder Diesel engine hauled a six-car streamlined mail-baggage-passenger train from New York to Los Angeles, 3280 miles, in 57 hours (nearly a mile a minute), burning crude oil costing four cents per gallon, using less than six cents' worth per mile!

A Diesel-engined automobile ran high-speed from the Atlantic to the Pacific at a total fuel cost of \$6.75,—about two mills per mile.

At Washington State Farm a Diesel-powered machine plows nine furrows, fourteen inches wide (total width 10½ feet), six inches deep, with slightly above average moisture, at 3.5 to 7.7 miles per hour at the low-cost fuel consumption of two gallons per hour.

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\*Scoville Hamlin: *The Menace of Over-Production*, Ch. 18.

## ABUNDANCE OF MACHINES

The technical and productive skill of American industry are sufficient to rebuild every factory, skyscraper, bridge, tunnel, railway and hot-dog stand now extant in a five-year plan, if we could find the right man to direct it.

"We have a large unused capacity (100%) in the tool and machine industries, a capacity much larger than is necessary to meet the budget requirement."<sup>10</sup> Hence the eagerness to export tools and machines for making tools and machines.

The swift production (or reproduction) of tools and machines is now almost beyond belief. A machine may be made of metal parts, and, as often true, each part quickly made, and the parts rapidly assembled into a machine. Such a machine may be made in two days, installed in two hours, be repaired in a few moments, and run from five to thirty years. Machines are more and more automatic, requiring less and less man-labor in operation; and mark this: most of the parts of these automatic machines can be made rapidly with other automatic machines,—and thus the mechanical equipment for making consumable goods can be multiplied not only indefinitely, but very rapidly. Thus a large part of our production plants could be doubled in a year if needed. We can produce abundantly,—**plenty of everything for everybody.**

## MODERN ACHIEVEMENT IN POWER

The building of the Great Pyramid (481 $\frac{1}{3}$  feet high, with a 13-acre base) consumed the labor of 100,000 men for 40 years:—4 million man-power years; or the muscle-energy of 20 men for 200,000 years. The hydro-electric plant at Grand Coulee Dam, converting earth-pull on water into electricity, will enable 18 men (three shifts of six) to deliver the same amount of energy in 20 days." At the same time it will furnish irrigation for 1,200,000 acres of land.

The efficiency of the turbine power-producer increased over 40% from 1900 to 1929.

A single mammoth combination steam, turbine and electric generator set, located near Chicago, consuming two tons of coal per minute, converts the heat energy of coal into electric energy sufficient to draw 160 fully loaded Twentieth Century express

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<sup>10</sup>*Chart of Plenty*, p. 129, by Dr. Harold Loeb.

<sup>11</sup>The Grand Coulee Plant will generate about 2,000,000 kilowatts of energy. In 20 days, 15 hours per day, it will produce 600,000,000 kilowatt hours; and since the hard labor of one man for 300 days, seven hours a day, equals 150 kilowatt hours, this water-power is equal to 4,000,000 man-power years.

trains;" an achievement which illustrates how "electrical wizards" have very recently boosted the Electrical Age man in comparison with the man of the prolonged (500,000-year) Muscle Age, when man's frail body was his only available converter of energy, converting his food into muscle energy.

The *World Almanac* of 1936 gives the information that in 1932 hydro-turbines in the United States had a capacity of 13,532,027 horsepower, and in 1934 our waterpower was developed to 16,075,027 horsepower.

### LABOR'S EVOLUTION

The Greek citizen had five slaves, whose lives he consumed: for them—no culture. Even in 1825, London workers were considered fortunate because their work-day was only fifteen hours long!<sup>12</sup>

But now! . . .

Our hydro-electric output in 1929 was well over 36 billion kilowatt hours. This is equivalent to the work energy of more than 240 million men for a year, which is over 96 times the number of mature slaves in the south in 1864 (2,500,000). And we could increase our hydro-electric output of 1929 at least 400%.

The Federal Power Commission reported that the total production of electricity for public use from all sources in the United States reached the all-time high of nearly 118 billion kilowatt hours during the twelve-month period ending July 31, 1937,—an increase of more than 11 billion kilowatt hours over the same period the previous year.<sup>13</sup>

The Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes reports that the rise in the use of power in recent years has been three and three-quarters times faster than the growth in population.

"It has been estimated that we now possess in non-human sources of energy the equivalent of sixty slaves for every man, woman and child in the United States."<sup>14</sup>

Ralph E. Flanders, recently Vice-President of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, said in 1932: ". . . the practical limit of the production and distribution of goods (in the U. S.) is beyond our conception."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>See *Schenectady Union Star*, Sept. 4, 1926.

<sup>13</sup>H. N. Holmes: *Out of the Test Tube*, p. 15.

<sup>14</sup>*Wisconsin Progressive*, Sept. 11, 1937.

<sup>15</sup>Sumner H. Slichter: *Modern Economic Society*, p. 4, published by Henry Holt and Co.

<sup>16</sup>*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, article on p. 30.

Even Herbert Hoover in a speech at Oakland, California, May 19, 1935, said, "The vast revolution in the powers of science and technology has placed within our grasp a future and security never hitherto dreamed of by mankind."

### RATE OF RISE OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends estimates that from 1900 to 1929 the workers' standard of living has been raised about 25%, measured by the purchasing power of wages."

Yet the same committee estimates an average increase in production per worker from 1919 to 1929 (ten years only) of 53%. Of course during the whole 29 years it would be much greater.

Workers today receive a smaller percentage of what they produce than ever before, though a larger nominal wage. Thus they are robbed more shamelessly now than formerly. Labor security diminishes as technology advances; e.g., many farm hands are now migratory, seasonally employed, and socially out-cast, with the idea of home and family vanishing.

Science,—and Common Sense,—stand ready to provide, protect and defend happy childhood, aspiring, ripening youth, the joys and dignities of human life in its prime, and ready also to provide the smiling serenities of safe and glad old age. Common Sense and Science now offer Labor a joyful, brimful life of plenty, never possible before anywhere on earth, and just at present possible only in the United States for all the people.

But here is bad news, very bad news:

A full hundred million of our people in our recent amazingly prosperous year actually lived, and continue to live, far, far below the level of plenty.

And here is still sadder news:

Scores of millions of us meekly, weakly **consent** to live below the level of plenty, in the midst of plenty. Bluffed! A hundred million Americans bluffed!

The Chart of Plenty, by Harold Loeb and his sixty trained associates, closes thus:

"The research of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity indicates that the resources, man-power, equipment, and technology existing in the nation (in 1935) are ample to provide a high standard of living for every inhabitant of the continental United States."

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<sup>11</sup>*Rec. Soc. Tr.*, Vol. I, p. xxxv.

Suppose society were organized and managed, not primarily (as now) for the special benefit of part of the people, but for the welfare of all the people; and suppose goods were produced, not for profit for part of the people (as now), but for use, for service, social service,—for the welfare of all the people; everybody serving with the best possible equipment and methods, and everybody enjoying the amazing abundance that could be, and certainly would be, produced. Of course, society today is so unsocial, no nearly crazy, so awkward and bungling, under the profit system, that it is difficult to realize the numerous factors that could be used to increase goods and services under a sane, social system.

Now let us do two things:

First, study briefly the efficiency, the capacity, of our national production equipment (next chapter), and

Second, study the industrial set-up under production for profits (Chapter IV).

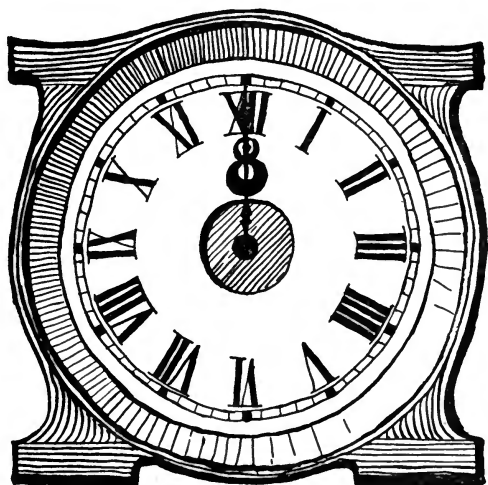
The plain face of the clock of progress in the next chapter will give us some mental dynamite as ammunition for the intellectual artillery of the farmers in the fields and the workers in the towns. Note also the cold and callous Caesars' efforts to mask and muffle the clock so that its message may never clearly reach the humbled multitude of workers. As these Caesars of industry now challenge us, so we shall calmly challenge them to this nation's coming contest, where *facts will burn away frauds*, in a hundred thousand free forums, great and small, where, *in a fair fight, an idea that cannot live deserves to die*.



## CHAPTER III

### TWELVE O'CLOCK — NOON — COME AND GET IT

In lumber camps, when dinner is ready, the cook's famous call is: "Come and get it!"



By the clock of human progress, what time of day is it? You don't know the time of day, and you can't tell the time of day, if you haven't heard the latest news in human achievement in the science and art of producing plenty of the things we need to avoid hunger and cold,—and worry.

The clock of industrial progress now strikes the hour for the common people to rise from their knees, step proudly forward, and *take best seats at the banquet of life*: Labor, Leisure, Culture, Security and Plenty.

Hundreds of thousands of our "best people" *are already seated* at the banquet of life, laughing at the common people because they can't hear the dinner bell,—can't tell the time of day on the clock of progress, too modest to "come in out of the rain" and sit down at the banquet of Plenty. Why, hundreds of thousands already at the banquet are actually gorging and wasting, and thousands of them are "under the table" too full to sit up. And all these "best people" enjoy their best seats at the banquet so much! We timid suckers make it so nice for them, over-feeding them while under-feeding ourselves.

Now, of course, the common people are not eager to gorge and waste, but we are increasingly interested in *plenty*, and we therefore wonder about the size of the banquet room of Plenty.

Well, this chapter is intended to make it clear that, in this country, there is **plenty**, and **plenty of room** for all at Life's Banquet.

Today human ears can hear what was never heard before: the clock of progress striking: "Plenty! Plenty! Plenty for everybody! Come and get it!"

Ye plain citizens of the sneered-at "common herd," put in your claims; demand justice, because Nature, controlled and guided by Science and Invention, now pours forth ample for all.

It is noon. Let us celebrate!

### OUR NATIONAL INCOME

Our potential national income in 1929 was equivalent to a 5% income on an 85,000 dollar investment for each of the 28,235,000 families in the United States, or an average of \$4250 annually,—more than \$14 a day per family, 300 days in the year. Now couldn't you worry along on four or five thousand a year? I really believe I could. At any rate I'd try *so* hard. I'd be willing to try anything like that over and over. Wouldn't you?

And we might as well recall that not till after our Civil War did presidents of Harvard and Yale receive \$4000 a year, and they had far fewer social services than we have now. Ninety per cent of the families in this country received less than that in 1929; so that that potential income of \$4250 for *all* families is a red hot fact, if it *is* a fact.

Well, don't worry, wiggle or sidestep; don't twitter, flicker or flutter with doubt. I'll show you right now that it is a fact.

### FIRST FACTS FOR THE SOCIAL EARTHQUAKE

Fact One. Here is a fact more powerful, more explosive, more revolutionary than ten thousand tons of dynamite if it ever reaches the brain of the common people:

\$90,000,000,000,—ninety billion dollars, ninety thousand million dollars,—that was our total actual production in 1929. This estimate is accepted as reliable by the President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*The World's Economic Dilemma*, by Dr. E. M. Patterson of the University of Pennsylvania

This 90,000 million dollar income was equal to the grand total income of all the following countries:

England	Italy	Denmark	Canada
Scotland	Poland	Switzerland	Australia
Ireland	Holland	Roumania	India
Wales	Belgium	Bulgaria	Japan
Germany	Sweden	Czechoslovakia	and
France	Norway	Jugoslavia	Brazil*

The total national production of all the 23 countries in the list above was \$87,695,000,000. That is to say, in 1929 our actual national income was over two billion dollars more than the grand total income of more than one-third of the human race, including all of the richest nations of the world (except Russia).

We were able to do this wonderful thing in 1929 though half the nation's workers of that year had less than seventh grade school education; and many millions of them had had no systematic training in the mechanical arts; all of them toiled without the inspiration of industrial democracy, unthrilled by the industrial justice of plenty for the workers.

Now let us go further and practice reading the clock of human progress. The thrilling fact, the glad news, of our actual 90,000 million dollar income of 1929 is really *less than half* of the full glorious story of the splendid plenty we could have, and have soon,—very soon. We shall see a little later in this chapter.

Fact Two. Mark carefully: In 1929 our nation's industries, as a whole and on the average, were operated at only 75% (or  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) of production capacity. It follows, therefore, that since three-fourths of our production capacity was 90 billions, our total potential capacity was 120 billions.

If we had produced at our nation's full capacity in 1929, our national income of 120 billions would have exceeded the total income of far more than one-half of the 2000 million members of the entire human race, including most of the richest and most advanced countries of the earth. Our potential income of 120 billions was, as stated before, equivalent to a five per cent income on an \$85,000 investment; that is, \$4250 for each of 28,235,000 families. Figure it out for yourself.

Yet about 73% of all families in the United States in 1929 (comprising far more than 73% of our population) had monetary incomes of less than \$3000; and over 55% of the total had less than \$2000 per annum. About 42% existed below the level of health and decency.\*

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\**The Menace of Over-production*, edited by Scoville Hamlin, p. 100. See also *The Statesman's Yearbook*.

\**Chart of Plenty*, p. 133, by Dr. Loeb and Associates.

You see, it is this way: we have solved the problem of production. We of our time have learned how to *adjust ourselves to nature*, how to make nature yield plenty for all. That is a solved problem. But we have not learned how to *adjust ourselves to one another*. That is an unsolved problem, hopelessly unsolved now as it was for thousands of years under slavery and for many centuries under serfdom.

The additional 30 billions of income could have been produced and enjoyed by the multitude without reducing the incomes of the 8% of the population who received \$5000 or more per family. But this would not have been profitable.\*

This 90 billion dollar estimate for our actual income, and the 120 billion dollar estimate for our potential income (in 1929) are, respectively, 3 billion less and 15 billion less than the later, equally reliable, and doubtless more complete, estimates in the *Chart of Plenty*.<sup>a</sup>

Dr. Loeb and his fifty associates estimate our national income in 1929, as follows:

Actual national income (the amount of goods and services consumed after deductions representing increase in inventory, and exports over imports)	93 billions
Potential national income	135 billions
Loss to society in goods and services <i>not permitted to be produced</i>	42 billions*

But that was long ago, way back in 1929. Later in this chapter you will find estimates for the years 1937 and 1950.

Our 90,000 million dollar income of 1929, with a potential income of 120,000 million,—that is the biggest fact, the best news I ever heard, or you ever heard; the biggest, best news ever heard by anybody, anywhere, at any time in all of the 1,500,000 years of human effort to climb the steep ladder of human progress, up—up—up—to plenty,—plenty for everybody.

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\**The Chart of Plenty*, pp. 156, 157; also *The Consumers' Guide*, June, 1935; also *The American Teacher*, Nov.-Dec., 1935.

<sup>a</sup>This book, several years more recent than Dr. Patterson's book already referred to, represents many months of hard work by more than fifty trained investigators, and constitutes their findings in making an official survey of potential product capacity. The very eminent critical scholar and publicist, Dr. Chas. A. Beard, says, "*The Chart of Plenty* is the most important book of the twentieth century thus far." But of course, from the Dictatorial, Fascistic, industrial parasites' point of view, the book is surely "dangerous," simply because it is proof of the possibility of plenty for everybody; and such proof is TNT against the brutal code and policy of *less* than plenty for the multitude, and it cannot be "laughed off."

<sup>a</sup>*Chart of Plenty*, pp. 132, 156, 157. Also article by Dr. Loeb in *Consumers' Guide*, June, 1935, and Loeb's "*Production for Use*."

## Revolutionary fact!

Yes, revolutionary in the best sense of that word. I mean that the great social reconstruction and reorganization, the Second American Revolution, will start from that fact. When that fact with its mental dynamite of meaning reaches the heart and brain of the teased, mocked multitude of American common people, their souls will burn with the same hot pride that flamed through this land in 1776. Around the firesides in twenty million American homes where \$4250 per year was never known, or even shyly dreamed of, 100 million Americans, morning, noon and night, should dare to plan and plan to dare, for the revolution, for the reconstruction.

For the clock strikes: "Noon! Plenty! Dare to come and get it."

Did your preacher ever tell you about that 90 billions and the 120 billions? Did your editor, your teacher, your school superintendent, your Congressman, your Senator, your Governor or your President,—did these ever clearly call your attention to these facts to enable you to see that we *could* produce as much and more than that every year, and that we *should* produce as much and more than that every year?

I wish your neighbor knew these facts. Why not pass along the wine, the wine of facts, wine for the heart and brain of Labor, sweating in the fields, forests, offices and school rooms, and in trucks and trains,—wine for the resurrection of the discouraged, the timid, the wronged in the prison of unemployment and want and worry and privation in this land of plenty!

A mountain of wealth in goods and services each year, with amazing meaning for the multitude! Do you "get it"? Do you see what that fact *ought* to mean, and **must be made to mean** for the plain toilers,—for the class who for thousands of years has worn the shoddy and eaten the meanest?

Let us repeat it:

90,000 millions, our actual income in one year;  
120,000 millions, our potential income in one year!

Now, believe me, there is far more of this glorious story of plenty marked on the clock, and we shall go on with it in a moment. But first, just a quiet word with you.

Reader, if we are of the multitude of common people, eager to work and serve society, and if we are grown-ups, and if we are among the hundred millions in this country fleeced and forced to *live on less than plenty in this land of plenty*, at least

on far less than \$4250 a year, then let us test our souls with the following pledge, a brand new pledge and confession:

"Before all men I swear: I'm fit to fight shoulder to shoulder with the farmers in the fields and the toilers in the towns for Labor's place of honor at the banquet of life. May the mothers of manly men scoff at mere mention of my name, may the little children shame me out of their sight, may all my neighbors spurn me with their scorn, aye, may even the cattle eating plenty in fat pasture fields bellow their contempt for me, if, like a feeble-hearted coward, I mutely consent to take life's wrongs lying down,—my meek, dulled soul shriveling with cringing gratitude for less than plenty in this land of plenty."

Further I confess:

"I am ridiculous if I believe that plenty is too much for me and my class;

"I am ridiculous if I am too dull to observe that everywhere under the Stars and Stripes the reward proposed for the common people is always less than plenty to buy plenty of the plenty;

"I am ridiculous if I am but an unresentful lump of fireless human clay,—sucker enough to be soothed into brute-like satisfaction with bull-neck steak, condescending charity and insulting doles;

"I am ridiculous if I am a spineless thing, too cheap to be grateful for the sublime call of Science and Invention announcing, 'Plenty for everybody; come and get it';

"I am ridiculous if I am too lazy to think this thing through to the new justice of plenty for all of us in this land of plenty;

"I am ridiculous if I am too tame and timid to help fight this thing through to the new justice of plenty for all of us in this land of plenty."

Shall we take this pledge and make this confession? Or . . . or, shall we cringe and crawl through life, like brainless, unresentful worms, with no interest in the clock of progress?

Now let us take another look at the clock.

Here now (for those who have not yet investigated the matter ) is more good news,—amazing news.

Having seen early in this chapter how well we might have lived in 1929, now let us consider how well we could have been living in 1937, and how abundantly we could live in 1950.

Fortunately we don't have to guess at it.

I challenge you to examine the calculations carefully, for

if they are approximately correct, then the plain people of this land will have the grit and gumption to "go get theirs" *as soon as the facts reach them*; they will insist on a swift, deep reorganization of industry for the production of goods for the **abundant use of all the people instead of huge and swinish profits for a few.**

It is of interest that President Roosevelt, well served by expert investigators, said (in substance) at Hyde Park, N. Y., in September, 1935, "In recent years our annual rate of progress in industrial production capacity has been about 5%."

The Research Department of the American Federation of Labor reaches the same general conclusion.

However, here is a far higher estimate by a great conservative research body, the Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes. This committee divided the total national physical volume of production by the total number of workers engaged in production; and in this manner estimated that for the twenty years preceding 1919 the increase in productivity was 4.7%; but for the eight years following 1919 it was 53.5%\*. Thus we see that the rate of progress increased over 11.3 times as much after 1919 in two-fifths as much time. This gives us the startling fact that in the eight years following 1919 the average rate of progress in productivity per worker was over 28 times as fast as it was from 1899 to 1919. Thus the known average rate of progress from 1899 to 1919 and from 1919 to 1927, reveal by comparison *the recent astounding speed-up* of progress in our national productivity per worker, and also furnish us reliable guidance in estimating what our national income could have been in 1937, and what it could be raised to by 1950.

Of course, from 1927 to 1929 there was no let-up in the speed-up in productivity; and when the market collapsed in 1929-30, everything possible was done, and has since been done, to reduce cost of production by means of improved machinery, in order to reach a market by reduced prices.

During the depression this increase in efficiency has proceeded as rapidly as in prosperity. According to *The Chart of Plenty*, the reports of many industries indicate that productivity has been increasing at *an accelerated rate*. "Factories that turn out labor-saving machinery have jumped the production (of such machinery) from a low of 27% of the 1923-29 normal in March, 1933, to 89% in July of this year." (*The New York World Telegram*, Aug. 31, 1933.) And in 1936-37 there was

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\*See *Journal of Commerce*, Sept. 16, 1935.

•*The Great Technology*, p. 74, by Dr. Harold Rugg.

general boasting of the vast improvements in machinery and methods being made and planned for years to come.

Well, in the light of these facts it certainly seems conservative to take 4% as the annual rate of progress in per-man productivity for the last seven years, and for the next thirteen years, which estimated 4% is more than 2½% below the actual average rate from 1919 to 1927.\* Assuming this 4% as a safe rate for the last seven years, our potential production capacity for 1937 was 28% higher than our potential production capacity in 1929.\*

Fact Three. Twenty-eight per cent of our national production capacity of 1929 (120 billion dollars) would be 33.6 billions, which gives a total of 153.6 billions for 1937, or a per-family income of \$5120 for 30 million families.

### AND WHAT OF 1950?

Fact Four. From 1929 to 1950 is 21 years. With progress at an annual rate of 4% for 21 years the total advance would be 84%. Eighty-four per cent of 120 billions is, in round numbers, 100 billions. This added to 120 billions would give us in 1950 a total national income of 220 billions,—or for 33,000,000 families an average income per family of \$6666.

Impossible?

Well, in 1860, business men, scholars, senators, and even President Lincoln would have said of our 90 billions (with a potential of 120 billions) in 1929,—“Impossible! A wild, foolish dream!” Even in 1900, President McKinley would have said the same thing. Dreams indeed, but far from impossible.

The reader will notice that I have not relied upon data furnished by the Technocrats, but started with the 90 billion dollar income actually produced in 1929-30, and have used admitted rates of actual increase in productive power since then.

And mark this fact: The foregoing estimates take no account of the hideous wastefulness of competitive production, and the far greater waste of society's intellectual resources for production, unused and unrealized in the present gloom and jealousy, fear and despair of poverty, and ignorance and lack of industrial training.

Stuart Chase, in his amazing, brilliant book, *“The Tragedy of Waste,”* shows clearly that our wastefulness in production and distribution is 50% or more. Dr. Arthur Morgan, President

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\*For the sake of simplicity the arithmetical average of increases from 1919 to 1927 has been used, instead of the year-by-year per cent. Figuring the succeeding increases in the same manner gives a roughly accurate comparison; in fact, whatever error there is results in under-statement of the facts.



of Antioch College, declares: "We squander about 94% of our productive capacity."

Even if we squander only 40% of the productive capacity used in 1929 (when we produced a 90-billion-dollar income), then the 40% lost amounted to 60 billions; and this added to the 90 billions we did produce would have made our total 150 billions even then. That would mean \$6000 per family, or \$20 a day three hundred days in the year for 25,000,000 families.

Our available but unused resources for purposes of industry are amazing. Let me illustrate:

The earth annually drags 1400 cubic miles of water from the land of the United States back to the sea, and a vast amount of this earth-pull available for drawing water through turbines, is **wasted because unused**. By the use of these now neglected resources, and by the elimination of the insane wastefulness of our present production-for-profit system, we could run up our annual national income much higher.

In comparing what we could produce now with what we could have produced in 1929, emphasis should be placed upon the equipment we *would* have had now *if*, instead of producing for an artificially restricted and collapsed market, we had been making all possible speed with improvements to produce plenty for everybody.

## IF

All this progress is accomplished even without national industrial design and planning. The rate of progress would be still more rapidly accelerated,—

1. *If* the richest country on earth would (as it easily could) devote two billion dollars annually to the promotion of scientific research and invention for the speed-up of industrial capacity. At present only 200 million dollars a year from all sources in this country is spent for scientific purposes. 75% of our federal budget goes for wars, past, present and future, and only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% for scientific research.<sup>10</sup>

2. *If* all prospecting and discovery of our nation's mineral resources were conducted with nation-wide scientific equipment and for the benefit of the whole people.

3. *If* inventors were encouraged by the national government and were no longer robbed by piratical "captains of industry," and if all patents and suppressed inventions were utilized, with reasonable royalties to inventors.

4. *If* the best, and only the best, known types of tools,

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<sup>10</sup>C. C. Furnas: *The Next 100 Years*, p. 341.

machinery, technology and industrial organization were used, and improved as rapidly as possible.

5. *If* all legalized leeches, all looters, chiselers, tax-dodgers, fakirs, gypers and masters, if all this glittering multitude of parasitic devourers were forced off the shoulders of the farmers and workers generally, and forced to produce or starve.

6. *If* all were workers, and all the workers were given the maximum strength of mind and body resulting from plenty of excellent food, clothing, shelter, medical and dental care, and protection from accident.

7. *If* all adults engaged in industry had high grade manual and industrial training, instead of the actual national situation: one half of the adult population with less than seventh grade education.

8. *If* all youths with special scientific bent and aptitude were defended by the government against want and the fear of want while they deepened and widened their studies in preparation to serve society, protected, trained, honored and inspired by society, they would serve society as physicians and surgeons, discoverers, inventors, and as chemical, electrical, mechanical and industrial engineers;—thus adding still more to our production capacity. (See Lester F. Ward's *Applied Sociology* for an amazing account of our waste of potential intellectual resources in the untrained, uninspired multitude.)

9. *If* agriculture were served, as it could be, from the vast resources of nitrogen (several tons of it in the atmosphere over every square yard of the earth's surface), which could be made available by electric fixation plants, and also from the huge stores of potash in California and Texas, and if the millions of acres of unused land or ill-used land were brought to maximum production.

10. *If* waste of labor were stopped,—wasted in not being used, wasted in use of out-of-date hand-tools and methods, wasted in duplications of functions, wasted in barbarous luxuries and foolish personal services to lazy, vain and over-fed loafers and parasites.

11. *If* all the stupid wastefulness of competition and duplication, waste of raw materials, waste in advertising, waste in all the time-wasting, balking and restricting influences of the planless wolf-eat-wolf competition were absent (as it could be with sane and social production for use). For example, two to four gas stations at a single intersection, sending Iowa coal to Illinois and Illinois coal to Iowa, sending coal to New York and Boston that could be far better shipped in the form of electricity, the

silly paralleling of railways for thousands of miles, and no on immeasurably.

12. *If* our nation's industry were scientifically planned, for the benefit of all, instead of being (as under the present system) parasitically plundered and bungled into panics, depressions and near-bankruptcy by our ignorant Captain Kidds of industry, whose beautiful and gracious motto is: "Get it! Get it! Get the maximum net rake-off, and to hell with sentiment!"

13. *If* the national policy were: The sky is the limit for general welfare; the best is not too good, and plenty is not too much for the common people, and there is no such thing as over-production as long as any of our citizens are unsupplied with abundance of the best.

14. *If* all were encouraged, thrilled, inspired through the enjoyment of the new justice of plenty for everybody.

If all these *If's* were realities, that quartet of fiends, Ignorance, Squalor, Want and Fear of Want, could be banished forever from the United States. The future could be made beautiful. Present clumsy, capitalistic, cannibalistic society has not yet dreamed of the vast increase of wealth and welfare that will glorify the new era.

The end of progress is far ahead of us; it seems inevitable that the potential per-family income will soon go far above \$7000 a year.

Does \$7000 seem too petty for our "very best families"? Well, \$7000 is much larger than the income of Linnaeus, Mendel or Newton; of Keats, Shelley, Milton or Shakespeare; of Plato or Aristotle; of Moses or of Jesus Christ; and it is almost three times as much as the incomes of 78% of the families of the United States in the banner year of 1929. Of course, if any of our "very best people" should find it difficult to get along on \$4250, or on \$5120, or on \$6666, or even on \$7000 a year, they could easily learn the secret from us common people. No doubt they would learn fast if they had to *learn or starve*. Don't worry about them; they don't worry about us.

At this point let me arm you with an answer to the following so-called "crushing question" often pompously squawked by the dollar-marked Fat Boys of the ruling class: "Well . . . er . . . er . . . , but what about public expense funds? What about taxes for sufficient funds to carry on, if every family received \$5120 or \$6666 per year?" Always with this question he hopes to smother the facts, and smother you, with doubt. But here is the answer:

In 1930 our combined taxes (local, state and national) were \$10,424,424,000, the highest in our history up to 1934. With incomes of \$4250, 28,000,000 families could have paid this total tax and still have had \$3978 net income. Moreover, a large percentage of this tax would come back to us in social services, such as

Public Schools,  
Public Libraries,  
Public Playgrounds,  
Parks,  
Museums,  
Public Concerts,  
Zoos,  
Police Protection,  
Fire Protection,  
Public Health Service,  
Streets and Highways,  
Sewer Systems,  
Garbage and Waste Disposal,  
Street Lighting,  
Building Inspection,  
Lower Rates on Gas and Electricity."

Fortunately we have already learned to mutualize (socialize) the cost and service of some of our needs. For instance, the socialized public library gives to the common man the use of tens of thousands of books he couldn't buy, or find room for in his own home.

Now (with friendly intention) here a special word with you, reader, if you have a wife and children, and if hunger and fear and privation mock you, and threaten you and yours, if the future of your children and your children's children looks dark and cruel and insecure,—insecure even though seven years ago our potential national income was equivalent to a five per cent income on \$85,000 for every family in the United States, including yours, and could soon be vastly more,—if **in spite of this** you are still weak and cheap with meekness, and your chin sags down, then tonight when, as usual, you say your prayers, I trust you will be thoughtful as well as pious, *and become proud*, too proud to sleep until you also pray,—

#### THE TOILER'S NEW PRAYER

If anywhere in this wide-stretching universe there be a God worth while, then, Great God of Justice, hear me! Stiffen my

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<sup>11</sup>See also p. 227 in Chapter *Social Planning*.

watery spine; harden and straighten my loose and foolish mouth; put fire into my dull eyes. Even the beasts of the field, even the despised mule hitched to the plow,—even these *live a little*, and are content to live a little. Good God, do something to me! Make me different from a mule. Please make me want to live a lot. Redden my blood with the courage of a man. Help me to despise my own image in my mirror and curse my own birthday if, willingly, I further clutter up the path of progress with my stupid meekness. Unstop my ears to hear, open my eyes to see. Whip me! Sear me! Lash me without mercy till I rouse for the resurrection and the revolution,—for the vast, beautiful and fraternal reconstruction of industry for the abundant service of all, instead of profit-plunder for the few. O, Lord, the sum of my prayer is: Give me sense enough to want plenty, and grit enough to go after it.

(Kindly read this prayer to your neighbor, won't you?)

Sleep?

Up from your knees!

Before you dare to stretch your weary body for rest, take new vows to your mate, your children and your class. Hang a card at the head of your bed, with this in large type:

*\$120,000,000,000*

Rise, rise to the level of its meaning! Open the windows of your brain to the glory of it!

The time of plenty for everybody, the time toward which for ages the bravest of the toil-scarred multitude have longingly looked forward,—that splendid time is here. The future has arrived in America! Glorious achievement! Here, and here alone, in America, the bells of human progress announce "Victory," a message to rouse the human race.

In all the million years of the human struggle for existence, since the midnight of the far-off ancient time of bare living, the clock of human progress never, anywhere on earth struck "12! Noon! Abundance for all!" till 1929 in the United States. At last! At last, after the long solemn march of mankind across the wide, withering deserts of despair, after hundreds of thousands of years of punishment under the lash of poverty, suddenly now all is changed by science and invention, and the nobler industrial engineers, passionately eager for ever greater goals for Man. Science in her recent burst of speed in the conquest of Nature now at last stands ready to throw wide open the doors to the banquet room of plenty for everybody,—with the problem of production solved, with *living* soon to mean *living well*,—

with work for all, plenty for all, and leisure for all to have all that the earth holds of charm for a socialized soul,—living triumphantly, greeting every morning with a smile.

And thus we *will* arrange our nation's industry, and without envy or malice toward any, high or low, as soon as the multitude catch sight of the clock of industrial progress, *and understand it*. All of us ere long will be living in a socialized society, not producing to be looted for profits, but producing for use, and plenty to use, for all of us.

Now there's the new goal, the next, near goal, for the so-called common people.

Labor-saving science must be labor-serving science.

Mark this: *Science ever marches on*, and the war against want and worry, through the conquest of nature, has only begun. Industrial miracles have amazed the world in recent years. Higher and higher mounts our potential national income, almost daring you and me to

"Come and get it."

Let us read, think, learn, and know that we are ridiculous when we are satisfied, contented, feeling that the struggle is over when we win a ten-cent victory,—ten cents an hour more, or ten dollars a week more.

Think hard about *your* seat at the table of Plenty.

The banquet of abundance has always been closed, and is closed now, and always will be closed, against the common people, until they themselves unite their might, and throw open the doors to the banquet of plenty for all workers.

But let us be hopeful. The "embarrassing problem of abundance" will swiftly become beautifully clear to the common people when we *get up off our knees* and are thus able to see farther, and deeper. And when we rise from our knees our masters won't seem so tall.

Go soon to your neighbor with the summary of our country's capacity to produce abundantly. Explain with care and with courtesy:

**Our ACTUAL AND PRACTICABLE NATIONAL INCOME:**

90 BILLION DOLLARS, our actual income in 1929,  
120 BILLION DOLLARS, our possible income in 1929,  
153.6 BILLION DOLLARS, easily practicable in 1937,  
220 BILLION DOLLARS, easily practicable in 1950.

These facts should be carried to every farm family, to all the toilers in the forests, on the trains, and to the toilers in the

cities, and to the ruined, or sinking middle class, and to every soul insulted with a dole.

With these facts we face organized arrogance, organized greed, organized social parasitism, that block our path. We have the proof that plenty is possible for all of us, the proof that want and fear could be banished from our land, proof that every home could be embellished with the loveliness of plenty, every life enriched with the charm of decent leisure to supply the finer flames that burn in the human soul.

Let us rejoice, because after a thousand years, we have at last arrived at noon.

Thank whatever gods there be, not only have we arrived, but we know we have arrived, at the Age of Plenty, graciously greeted by Science, eager to be hostess to the weary multitude.

Hark! Harken again, my brothers, my sisters, in the homes of the humble:

The bells of human progress ring,—ring wildly,—ring out high, glad greetings to you:

“Twelve o’clock! Noon! Come and get it!”

So much for the clock indicating the time of day;—for the production capacity of the nation’s industrial plant. Now let us look over the plant and its management, discovering, if possible, why it cannot, dare not, be used to produce plenty for all; why plenty for all would actually be disaster *under the profit system*.

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—From WAR—WHAT FOR?



## CHAPTER IV

### ALL READY — ALL ABOARD

(Explaining the ugliest thing in the world.)

Ho! There waits the good ship, Abundance For All,—steam up, ready to go, right now, with plenty of room for all, and full of supplies for all of us for all the voyage across the sea of life!

Reason says, "All aboard!"

Common sense orders, "All aboard!"

Science shouts, "All aboard!"

Progressive engineers urge, "All aboard!"

Justice cries, "All aboard!"

Certainly!

But, strange as it may seem, it is actually impossible to go on board. It would be a **national disaster, under the present industrial arrangement, management and purpose.** The multitude, we common people, called "the common herd," we *dare* not be permitted to go on board and keenly enjoy the proud ship, Abundance For All.

Surely if this is true, it is profoundly important to all the workers under the Stars and Stripes, and should be looked into at once. Well, it *is* true, and this chapter and the next will make it so clear that you will not doubt it, and you will never forget that it is true.

Now, first, let us examine the ship, the nation's equipment for production.

As already explained in the first part of the preceding chapter, ours is the largest, completest, most efficient national production plant on earth, surpassing the combined capacity of more than half the human race, including most of the best developed countries in the world. But this national production plant *dare not be used at full capacity even for the production of things reasonably needed by all of us.* Here it is, with amazing capacity for producing plenty of everything for everybody:—

A. **Raw Materials and Power**,—soil, metals, coal, oil, forests, etc., etc.; also rushing rivers (for hydro-electric energy),—all in vast abundance—*plenty to produce plenty of everything for everybody.*

**B. Mechanical-Physical Equipment,** — machinery and tools, factories, hydro-electric plants, power and irrigation dams, etc., including automatic machines, not only for making consumption goods, but also for making thousands of different parts for more automatic machines, thus enabling us to make quickly any number of machines of any kind to make *almost anything and everything in any amount and number for all of us.*

With only 6.2% of the world's population, we have about 50% of the world's energy. We now have more than 127,000,000 major machines, such as locomotives, turbines, motor trucks, looms, lathes, etc.,—one for every person in the United States; and we have more than 700,000,000 installed horsepower,—equal to seven billion man-power of energy available for all of us,—plenty to produce *plenty of everything for all of us.* And this could be vastly and rapidly increased!

**C. Transportation Equipment,**—an ample supply of railways, surfaced roads, pipelines, telephone and telegraph lines; also trucks, ships, terminals, docks, motive power, etc., ready to haul and handle materials and finished products,—*plenty of everything for everybody.*

**D. Technological Knowledge,**—well-developed pure science for the promotion of technological sciences, and technological science for the promotion of production,—all ready, richly abundant to produce *plenty of everything for everybody.*

In 1893 there were from 12,000 to 13,000 engineering students. In 1933 there were from 60,000 to 65,000 engineering students. In 1893 there were virtually no graduate engineering students. In 1933 there were 4000 graduate engineering students. In 1933 advanced degrees almost equaled the first degrees in 1893. *The American Yearbook* says, "Engineering has become the largest division of higher education excepting only literature, arts and teacher training."

**E. Laboratories,**—devices and methods for further and faster scientific exploration and conquests of nature's secrets, promoting new mechanical, chemical, biological and other discoveries, inventions, formulas, ways and means in ever greater measure. And billions per year available for still more rapid general advance in science to speed up the annual *rate* of progress in industrial efficiency, thus guaranteeing ever greater of *plenty of everything for everybody.*

**F. Skills** ready,—thousands of forms of adeptness, cunning of hand and brain, swiftly serviceable in production, are ready in a thousand modes,—ready to produce *plenty of everything for everybody.*

**G. Workers**,—farmers, miners, foresters, mechanics, tool- and-machine operators of all kinds, clerical workers, teachers, etc., are ready, willing, eager, many millions of them, to produce *plenty of everything for everybody*.

**H. Youth**,—boys and girls, young men and women, eager, oh so beautifully eager, for training and opportunity to take part in the world's work, in high spirit, with high efficiency, many millions of them, longing to take their places and go on with the sublime social role of producing plenty,—abundance for *an abundant life for everybody*.

**I. Educational Equipment**,—now ready or easily and quickly provided: schools, press, radio, libraries, and forums for mental and manual training, and for the universal distribution of knowledge, ample for the continuous training of the nation's population for the production of plenty of everything for everybody; and also ample educational equipment for creating, rousing and promoting a general holy lust for plenty of the best of everything,—for all of life, and for the awakening and satisfying of intellectual hunger, and for the universal distribution of knowledge.

Incomparable combination of equipment and conditions! Inspiring situation!

But a hydro-electric power plant with all wheels whirling and whirring can accomplish nothing,—absolutely nothing,—until you close the switch and let the juice flow over the circuit.

Well, what are we waiting for? Why don't we throw the switch? Isn't everything ready?

### NOT QUITE EVERYTHING!

One thing is not ready.

The workers are not ready.

Too meek.

Too humble.

Too shy.

Too modest.

Too dull with drivel.

Too blind to see that plenty of the best is *not too much*.

Perhaps the schools taught us how to "make a living," but dully failed to teach us how to live, or what living should mean and can mean. The man who "drives so fast" he cannot tell an art gallery from a butcher shop, may be "going on high"; but he's living slow and "on low" probably,—*"going places"* and seeing nothing. Life is the climax of creation on this planet.

Life is the test and measure of everything else. Very well, then; here is the main question:

SHALL WE LIVE A LITTLE OR LIVE A LOT?

How much life have you learned to want?

How much life have you and I sense enough to want and pride enough to demand?

The workers in vast majority, as a class, as a whole, still tamely believe that the best is too good and plenty is too much,—for *them*.

Proof?

Well, here it is: As an all-powerful class the workers never hope for, ask for, strike for, fight for, or vote for, an income commanding *plenty* of the *best*.

So here we are, all set, ready to go, with plenty of room for all of us to go on board the good ship, Abundance For All, a safe and joyous voyage of life for every one of us; that is, we have a national production plant ample for the continuous production of plenty of everything for every one of us.

Perfectly simple, so far,—isn't it? You can see that, can't you? Why, even I can see the point, can understand this glorious situation,—new, absolutely new in the history of mankind. A ten-year-old in the grammar school can see that abundance *should* be produced when abundance *can* be produced. I'll go farther than that, and say that even the "best minds," the statesmen, brilliant economists, yes, even university presidents, if given a little help and plenty of time, even these, yes, practically every person outside of a lunatic asylum can see that (if plenty is not too much for the common people) when our national production plant is able to produce abundance for all, why, of course, the plant should operate full time, full force, full capacity, until there is enough for everybody.

But the captains of industry shout, "Halt, slaves! You shall not ride on the good ship, Abundance for All."

Now the *character* of the masters of that ship is *not* the question. Whether they be good men or bad men, generous or stingy, kind or cruel, noble or ignoble,—they can not and they dare not, permit the common people to come on board. True enough, there's room for all, and plenty for all, and yet, really, I assure you again, it would be a swift national disaster if America's industrial masters permitted all willing workers to go on board the good ship, Abundance For All,—that is, UNDER THE PROFIT SYSTEM.

Great general success in the production of plenty of everything for everybody, would mean general national welfare, wouldn't it?

No! Such success would mean nothing of the kind. Such success would be a *national disaster*.

Think slowly now (if you are not used to it).

Great general success in producing plenty for everybody would cause disastrous "over-production" (as it is called) because the producers of the plenty are not rewarded with plenty to buy plenty for producing plenty. The vast majority (thus rewarded) could not buy their pro rata of the plenty; thus the supply would exceed the market, prices would fall and profits would vanish; and thus "property" would collapse like a toy balloon in a fiery furnace; disastrous shrinkage in dividends would render vast numbers in the middle class unable to buy as much as normally, with still further shrinkage of the market; thousands of factories would shut down or go on part time; millions of workers would be discharged and become still poorer buyers. Thus the market, already too small, would again shrink violently, requiring further reduced production and the discharge of vast numbers of workers into the army of the unemployed with reduced buying power, just when a larger market was required; and the country would plunge into a depression-panic far greater than the present one which for years has cursed the country.

Full national capacity production would produce a rankling anger in the hearts of scores of millions of rousing, rising, proud Americans, ready for rebellion against an industrial system whose masters explain that hunger is due to too much food; therefore full capacity national production would produce an "emergency" requiring the iron fist and the heel of steel,—Fascism.

Forty-eight state legislatures and the National Legislature could be hastily called in session, not to arrange that the plenty for everybody be distributed, but to plan soothing-syrup for the miserable, to lull and cool the rising wrath of the rousing multitude by putting a little sugar into the vinegar of stingy "help" when threatened with frost, storms and starvation in the midst of plenty for everybody; by arranging bigger and better portions of soup, bigger and better flop-houses, and bigger and better sales of old clothes, because "too much" and "too many" good things were all ready for all the people to consume. Something like civil war would likely sweep over the land, so vast would

be the hungry, angry army of the unemployed and their tortured families. Taxes would rush up in order to raise relief funds, and to meet new public expenses of rapidly increased military forces to crush the desperate "common herd" if they complained too bitterly about being hungry because there was too much to eat.

General abundance of everything would mean plenty of everything for everybody, general national welfare; but it would be a general disaster, *under the profit system*.

General collapse in profits is called a national disaster. The slump of millions of workers into misery is not commonly referred to as a disaster, and is explained as the result of their being "too lazy to work," and a "blessing in disguise for the common herd," and "their sufferings will teach them to save their pennies for a rainy day."

The time has come, even if business should "pick up,"—if all the workers were permitted to work productively and full time, there would promptly be over-stuffed warehouses and under-stuffed workers, millions of them.

Face to face with disaster, if we dare produce plenty for everybody!

Now perhaps you, reader, understand that this is true, and why it is true; but there are others who do not understand, and they are puzzled and bitter over want in the midst of plenty; and for these the following pages are written.

### LOCATING THE DEVIL

"The devil?" Oh, I mean the "devil in the woodpile." I mean the cause of want and worry in the midst of plenty. When the workers *as a class* find the *cause* of their hunger in the midst of "over-production" they will swiftly remove the cause. Let's get at that cause.

Most workers today actually believe the distress of the multitude is due to the *personal* meanness of the "rich man" or the *personal* character of the employer class. It is useless to expect that the devil in the woodpile is the personal character of either the employers or the workers.

Whether the private owner-masters of the nation's industrial plant are just men or unjust men, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, or Atheists, whether they would or would not like to "treat the workers liberally," the operation of the nation's production plant continuously, full-capacity, can never be permitted while the profit system lasts, regardless of any amount of misery.

Likewise, whether a worker be intelligent or not, industrious or lazy, moral or immoral, religious or irreligious, a citizen or not, Jew, Catholic, Protestant or what not, he has no right whatever to join his fellows and enter a factory without permission to help produce plenty for everybody, even to save himself and his wife and children from starvation.

Strange, isn't it? Plenty for everybody is beautifully *reasonable*, isn't it? Yet when goods are produced for profits, the plenty is disastrous for many, many actual producers, and therefore *unreasonable*. Then there must be something fundamentally wrong, unsocial and vicious in a society in which plenty for everybody is both *reasonable* and *unreasonable*.

Let's talk it over. Let's study the profit system and learn how plenty for everybody tends to ruin the producers of the plenty.

The following a-b-c lesson leads right up to the machine gun.

A. In ever increasing proportion most goods are not production goods, but consumption goods; not plows and threshing machines, but wheat, flour, etc.; not shoe machinery, but shoes; not weaving and knitting machines, but cloth, etc. See?

B. Now the major part of *consumption* goods must be sold to the multitude of workers, who constitute about 90% of the total number of buyers of consumption goods. Their general average of purchasing power includes cheap clothing, cheap food, cheap furniture and a few other cheap-grade things, and not abundance of these.

C. But *in order to make profits* on what the workers produce, their total reward for all their work is steadily kept too small to buy *that portion* of the consumption goods not wanted by the employer class. That is a restriction of their purchasing power, and thus an arbitrary restriction on the major part of the market.

*Always* there is purchasing power, *somewhere in society*, equal to the total goods produced. But that purchasing power is not distributed to those who produced the goods, and who should constitute by far the greater part of the market.

However, the general average of producing power rises steadily and very rapidly. Hence inevitable "over-production" of consumption goods when workers produce with modern machinery. Of course the indefinite multiplication of *production* goods (machinery, factories, etc.) would simply make matters worse.

Abundance is useful for use, but useless for profits.

Plenty does not exceed the people's *power to produce*.

Plenty does not exceed the people's *need*.

Plenty *does* exceed the people's *power to buy*. For that reason, under the profit system,—

1. If all labor is used, goods pile up unsold, profits collapse, business sags, middle class citizens are ruined, and labor must be discharged.

2. If all labor is not used, national welfare wilts, taxes mount, business sags, middle class people are ruined, and still more labor must go unused.

And if prices go up, the actual purchasing power of the multitude will shrink, and thus reduce even the present market and make fewer workers necessary. If prices come down, employers will "economize," slash wages, and thus reduce the present market; and that also will make fewer workers necessary.

Of course, also, when millions are unemployed, eager for work, it is far easier to slash wages, break strikes, and employ still cheaper labor, all of which still further shrinks the market. That again increases unemployment, hunger, worry, disgust, hatreds, suicide and crime, with petty highway banditry increasing, in imitation of the "inside jobs" committed by big business.

Thus industry stalls, the workers are stung, progress lags, morals decline, pride dies, hopes fade, statesmen stutter and stumble.

Yea, brethren, Business now wears a "permanent," costing big business fifty million dollars a day in profits. Here is the way of it:

The profit system, with its arbitrary, artificial restriction on the market, requires arbitrary restriction of production to fit the available market. As the distinguished economist, A. T. Hadley, President of Yale University, pointed out correctly in his *Economics* over forty years ago, a major part of the purpose in forming the industrial trust was (and still is) to restrict production to fit the available market.

Plenty for everybody cannot be sold, under the profit system; therefore plenty shall not be produced.

### SMASH OF PRICES BY PLENTY

Now let us study a concrete case of disaster due to producing plenty of something under the profit system.

In 1926 the American farmers produced an abundance of



cotton—18,000,000 bales. What happened? The abundance swamped the market, wrecked the prices and thus wrecked the profits, and the cotton “property.” The 18,000,000 bales of cotton in 1926 brought the farmers \$600,000,000 *less* than the 10,000,000 bales brought in 1923. Under the cotton-for-profits system, the industry was, so to speak, fined \$600,000,000 for producing 8,000,000 more bales than in 1923. The cotton farmers got amazingly less for doing magnificently more. The production of abundance produced disaster.

Yet continuing to produce plenty (that is, too much), the industry sank so low that by 1931 President Hoover was screaming, “Plow under every third row”; and somewhat later the federal government rushed to the rescue of despairing millions with subsidies and relief for millions of cotton growers.

The estimated world carry-over of wheat July 31, 1934, was more than a billion bushels; and it would have been 600,000,000 bushels more if the 1933-34 crop in Canada and the United States had been up to the yearly average for 1922-32. Such success in producing bread-stuff for the hunger of the earth would have demolished wheat prices and wrecked millions of farmers, as in corn and cotton,—a huge disaster under the profit system.<sup>1</sup>

A world-wide crop of sheep, cattle or hogs, apples, oranges, rye, oats or anything else would be a disaster for the producers under the profit system. International Wheat Conferences are held in London to arrange world limitations to wheat production and distribution, while millions are hungry. (As in August, 1934.)

The ugliest fact of 1929 was this: Our national income was arbitrarily kept down to 75% capacity because the reward of the workers was arbitrarily kept too low to enable them to buy abundantly. The multitude was rigidly kept off the good ship, Abundance For All. Even then industry collapsed.

But business would not have collapsed in 1929-30 if . . . if there had been a *profit market* for abundance, that is, for abundance up to the limit of production capacity.

Our national production last year (1936), “the new prosperity,” in goods and services, amounted to 60 billion dollars; *but* that 60-billion-dollar production was only  
two-thirds of our actual production in 1929,  
one-half of our potential production in 1929, and only

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<sup>1</sup>See J. M. Goldstein: *The Agricultural Crisis*, pp. 237-8.

*two-fifths* of what the nation could have produced in this year (1937).

We shall close this year (1937) at least 75 billions behind schedule, that is, below the level of abundance we could have reached this year, if the nation's industries were conducted with a purpose of abundance for all.

And don't you see that since the market in 1936 was sufficient for only two-fifths of our nation's capacity to produce, then if industry had been set going and kept going at full blast in 1936 with a production power of 150 billion and a market for only 60 billion, such full-capacity production would have piled up unsalable goods in bursting warehouses, with a national shut-down in more industries, and fifteen to twenty millions thrown out of work?

Thus you see this great depression illustrates so beautifully the problem of abundance, the great national danger of abundance for all; and the depression also explains why working people get into trouble when they produce abundantly,—must go hungry when they produce abundance of food, must wear rags and shoddy when they produce abundance of cotton and wool and clothing.

It is perfectly evident that if in the autumn of 1929 production had been boosted to full national capacity, and had been continued at that volume for two years, the present eight-year depression (still far from ended) would have been intolerably more severe, with at least 20 millions unemployed and 40 millions on relief, and revolution thundering at the front door!

## TWO BILLION DOLLARS CASH REWARD!

"How can we prevent rebellion and revolution?"

The plutocratic Big Boys are stumped, stung and stalled, all hot and bothered, stewing in their own crude greed, gasping, chattering, yelling:

"Help! Help! Market! Market! Market! More market to absorb what the millions of waking, angered, cursing unemployed are eager to produce! More market is our only salvation from rebellion and revolution,—our only escape from industrial democracy for the whole western world!"

Yes, salvation from revolution is the plutes' first reason for wanting more markets. If the capitalists do not soon find a vastly greater market we shall have 20 millions unemployed, or 10 millions unemployed and 10 millions partly employed at part wages; and that leads straight on to rebellion against capi-

talism, as soon as the workers rouse from the deep, damned slumber of the centuries, and realize their wrongs, their rights, their power, and get up off their knees and dare!—dare to defend themselves on the battlefields of politics and industry with their united might.

But there's another urge for a vastly greater market: "How can we scoop up the river of profits running to waste?"

A man owning a factory is eager to operate his plant full capacity and he always does if there is a market for the goods. When he does not do so it is because he can't (under the profit system). Every unemployed employable worker in the United States would promptly be offered work at a so-called "fair" wage, and coaxed to take it, if,—ah *if* the "men of brains" could find a "normal market" for what they could produce.

In the name of the great god Profit, where is that market?

Let me show you the funniest thing in the world: all the big, brainy business men turning handsprings,—the nation's business men who up to eight years ago advised the working people, "Save, save, save!" recently turned a double somersault and now urge, "Spend your money; buy, buy, buy! Good God, buy something!"

For eight years, and more, the employers have been especially, desperately eager to find a "normal profit" market to absorb all the goods the workers are eager to produce. Eight years! Yes, always they want such a market. Why, the increased profits now would be far above a billion dollars every thirty days. Ah, yes, the market! Where is it? Find it! Go get it if possible! Here's the topic of the employers,—finding such a vast, necessary profit-market:

A. They would if they could.

B. They don't.

C. Therefore they can't.

There is no such market, and never can be such a market, because the whole capitalist world is under the divide-up profit system, which keeps the workers of the world too poor to buy abundantly, no matter how abundantly they produce. Think it through!

The workers' present power *as producers* is canceled by their constant weakness *as consumers* (as buyers), under the profit system. This is the most vast and vicious contradiction in the industrial set-up of the twentieth century; and this abominable contradiction makes the profit system the ugliest thing in

the world. Plenty for all made possible by Science and Invention, but made unprofitable, and therefore unpermissible, by the Profit System! Until the workers understand this cruel contradiction they will continue to weave soft silks and woollens but wear the shoddy; will prepare the porterhouse steaks and eat the neck, shoulder and low round; will build the palace car but ride in the cheap day-coach or walk, sneered at as suckers.

The employers' steady REFUSAL TO REWARD THE WORKERS WITH PLENTY TO BUY PLENTY OF THE PLENTY,—that fact is the "key" fact for understanding the present depression and the inevitable disaster that would result from full national capacity production. That fact explains also why 1000 American consuls (at public expense) and thousands of private representatives of American business men are always searching all over the world for foreign markets for American "surplus" goods. ("Surplus" is a sweet word to use while many millions of our people are in want even of plain necessities of life.) That fact explains also why these consuls and other foreign-market hunters can't find sufficient market now, and never can. There is the same arbitrary restriction everywhere in the world that goods are produced under the profit system.

The silly chortling: "Good times are here again", "The depression has departed",—all this is ardent ignorance warbling in the cemetery; for big business does not set industry going full speed and keep it going. "Business recovery", etc., sounds good; but many millions are still productively unemployed, and almost 50,000 youths reach "work-age" every thirty days, most of them to become new recruits in the army of the unemployed. Does anybody suppose that labor is being reemployed at the rate of 50,000 a month?

Editorial "ballyhoovers," and the Big Boys of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers assure us that the present depression is "just one more,—that's all", and because (!) we have recovered from eight or ten previous depressions we shall surely recover from this one in the "good old American way."

How learned, original and profound!

After the joyously comforting statement that "we are Americans and therefore need have no fear," comes a deep and cogent argument as follows:

A. The United States has had ten depressions before the present one.

B. The United States has recovered ten times.

C. Therefore the United States will recover from this one.

Marvelous logic! It is such a help to be sustained with this perfect mental product of our mighty men of brains and ability. With this reasoning you can prove that, barring accident, a man can live at least a thousand years (if he's careful to be an American). Look at the logic:

A. Mr. Smith has been sick ten times.

B. Mr. Smith has recovered ten times.

C. Therefore Brother Smith is absolutely certain to recover from his eleventh illness and all future illnesses.

Beautiful! Such logic would be unworthy of an eight-year-old imbecile. Thousands of graveyards are crowded with men who recovered from several illnesses, and then fell ill once more, and died, even in spite of being Americans. Indeed, nearly all the people who have ever lived on this earth are now dead, having at last come to an illness that was convincingly permanent.

But isn't business picking up?

Yes, just now very specially for the few. If "business picks up" and keeps it up lively, full capacity, *it will fall down disastrously.\**

Even the United States Chamber of Commerce, with careful help, should be able to master the simple truth that a tank being drained through a one-inch pipe, cannot now, or hereafter, steadily continue to receive through a crowded two-inch pipe. Our national production plant is now capable of pouring into the market a volume of the common consumption goods hopelessly exceeding the common people's power to buy. Such abundance the ruling class wouldn't buy because they *couldn't consume* it; and such abundance the common people *will not consume* because they are not permitted to buy it, under the profit system.

This depression is permanent in the sense that hereafter billions of dollars' worth of labor cannot be used, vast numbers, eager to work, will be unemployed productively, "boondoggling" will shame this land, taxes for "relief" will weigh down upon the people; millions of young people will be bitter, reading signs: "Not Wanted"; farm mortgages and tenantry will increase (as now) and will hold many millions in gloom, a

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\*NOTE: The reader's attention is called to the fact that the above paragraph was written before March 17, 1937; that is, the present "recession" was predicted.—F. H. K.

scarcity policy will continue (such as reducing food production while tens of millions are under-nourished),—in one way and another privation will continue to wither and shrivel the lives of scores of millions, and general production will continue meanly, cruelly below what it could be, should be, and would be with full capacity production.

Our profit system is now a scarcity system and will more and more be a poverty system, as we are more and more successful in producing plenty!!

Reader, look down the wide highway of the future, both sides lined with men, women and children nailed to the cross of poverty, endless generations of them, punished through Greed's hungry hunt for profits.

Hitch in your belts. "Mounting dividends", "booming profits" for a ruling, looting few, is *not* recovery for the common people. Here and there a really big business man has been frank about recovery; for example:

# CONFESSIONS OF THE MIGHTY

**“CIVILIZATION NOW FACES UTTER COLLAPSE.”—**

**DR. RAY LYMAN WILBUR**, California's leading educator,

addressing the students and faculty of Leland Stanford University, July 26, 1932. Dr. Wilbur, traveling by plane when Secretary of the Interior, visited all parts of the United States, studied conditions and conferred with the nation's greatest bankers, manufacturers, editors and educators. He got the “low-down” from the “high-ups”.

**“I DON'T KNOW HOW AND I DON'T KNOW WHEN WE ARE EVER GOING TO RECOVER FROM THIS DEPRESSION.”—**

**ANDREW W. MELLON**, the world's second greatest banker,

recently head of the United States Treasury, addressing a large audience of British bankers in London in June, 1932.

**“‘OVER-PRODUCTION,’ PEOPLE SAY. . . . I WOULD DISAGREE WITH THEM. BUT AS THINGS NOW STAND, 30 PER CENT OF OUR PEOPLE PRODUCE MORE FOOD THAN WE NEED, AND ANOTHER 30 PER CENT PRODUCE MORE THAN ENOUGH MANUFACTURED ARTICLES. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO WITH THE OTHER 40 PER CENT?” — CHARLES F. KETTERING**, Vice President of

**General Motors,**

expert industrial engineer, in charge of research, in an article: “Industry at the Crossroads,” in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Sept. 26, 1931.

Here are some other indications that this depression is permanent.

*First:* After seven or eight years we still have between 9 million and 12 million unemployed, and in all these years we have never brought our production up to much more than two-thirds of our 1929 production.

*Second:* Even the Supreme Court of the United States accepts the view that *this* depression will continue indefinitely, and, in the Court's own phrase, pronounced this depression "relatively permanent." (See decision by the U. S. Supreme Court handed down in the case of the North Dakota tax-assessment of the Great Northern Railway Company, early in February, 1936.)

*Third:* President Roosevelt, served with facts by trained investigators, and eager to give encouragement to the public, was forced by the facts to acknowledge this depression has come to stay. Speaking to the nation over the radio, April 17, 1936, he said: "The Civilian Conservation Corps will be a *permanent institution*." Now the C. C. C. was confessedly instituted, and has been continued, as a national necessity for the rescue of millions of drifting youths held fast in the clutches of poverty due to "depression unemployment." And President Roosevelt's announcement was confession and prediction that this C. C. C. "will be a permanent institution" simply because the cruel lash of this depression will continue permanently to whip hundreds of thousands of helpless, hopeless youths into the C. C. C. camps to serve for a dollar a day, with 80 cents a day arbitrarily deducted to be sent home for the support of "needy relatives."

*Fourth:* Aubrey W. Williams, deputy relief administrator, wrote, "Millions of those now out of jobs will never find jobs again. . . . The supply of workers exceeds the demand. Man-power is a drug on the market."\*

*Fifth:* The American Federation of Labor announces: "If we count on improving business alone to put the unemployed to work, we may expect little improvement in the situation. . . . No solution is in sight."\*

*Sixth:* The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sent out the following message to 110,000 pastors of twenty-three denominations:

"Physical and engineering resources in America are now available to produce the abundant life for all. . . . Only by a

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\**The American Federationist*, Feb. 1936, p. 137.

\**The American Federationist*, Feb. 1936, pp. 201, 202.



more equalized ability to purchase can we abolish want in the midst of plenty."

Certainly this is a new kind of depression. We have reached the end of an era. This depression is permanent.

Not for a day, not for an hour, since the sunrise of a dozen years ago revealed *Labor standing forth armed* with miraculous tools, machinery and technology for pouring forth consumption goods, armed also with the same kind of equipment for miraculously multiplying production goods,—not for a minute since then have the ruling class dared to give the order: "Go ahead, full speed." And they dare not do so under the profit system. For the same reason that they did not, and could not in 1929, and have not through eight years, and can not now, give the command for full capacity production,—for this same reason the nation's production plant *will never be used* at full capacity, or even at much above 60% of capacity, while the profit system lasts.

[Even in 1938, after all the government money poured into the market, and all the other palliatives, the total production for 1938 was only 60 billion dollars (one-half our 1929 production capacity), as announced by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress, January 5, 1939.—F. H. K.]

We have sense enough to enable us to *produce* plenty for everybody, but we are too comically silly to *distribute* the plenty to everybody,—everybody who is willing to work. The procession of the workers marching toward the goal of plenty for all must now be halted, with machine guns if necessary, no matter how many millions are mal-nourished, hungry, seedy and meanly sheltered, no matter if a hundred million Americans live below the level of the plenty we all could have.

Society now slips backward while industrial science moves gloriously forward, offering ever greater bounties; we now stupidly stumble down just when we have successfully struggled up, up,—up to the present stage of marvelous efficiency. That is, these are society's stupid antics under the profit system.

As the good ship, Abundance For All, pulls proudly away, leaving scores of millions of us on the cold and gloomy dock of want and worry, chattering like gullible children about our "rights," we are ridiculous. Dumbly consenting to a thousand outrages "under the law," modestly feeding our children skimmed milk, and humbly eating liver and neck, while the ship of Abundance is loaded with porterhouse steaks two inches thick, we are ridiculous. "All Aboard"? Not yet. Not till

we whine less, think more, and prove we have the steel of pride in us.

And thus it is that, under the profit system, we remain on the gloomy dock, sucking our thumbs, whimpering, nibbling that half-loaf of life, too thick to think, too careless to die, too tame to fight, too cowardly to demand plenty, defeated, deserted and despised by the captains of industry in full command of the good ship, Abundance For All.

Stunned, dulled, tamed and confused, the multitude *permit* plenty to produce panics, depressions and disaster,—permit the abundance from their own hands and brains to sink them in the sea of poverty, and drown them in the hell of worry and want.

That is, up to date. But please read the chapter: *But Tomorrow.*

## CHAPTER V

### CHALLENGED! or THE STATESMAN'S NORTH STAR

#### ONE THOUSAND TONS OF DYNAMITE, FOLLOWED BY SOME QUESTIONS, AND SOME SUGGESTIONS ON THE WAY OUT

Somebody should offer a reward of \$1000 to the reader who will in the shortest time carry these packages of dynamite (that is, quietly and fraternally read these pages) to the greatest number of his neighbors.

Here and now I challenge you with ten facts that challenge me, ten facts that should challenge all of us till we rouse and rise and reason, and get going proudly, boldly, swiftly on our way to the banquet of life, a life of abundance for all of us.

These ten facts will stand out more distinctly and mean infinitely more if right at the start, we have a clear idea of **SUCCESSFUL PRODUCTION**,—a conception of success to be carried by us clear through this book. Moreover, and very specially, this definition will be helpful in finding a North Star and compass for statesmen. This definition of successful production will (I promise you) be helpful also, as a yardstick and guide,

- in measuring statesmen and statesmanship,
- in measuring candidates for election or reelection,
- in measuring our present industrial system,
- in measuring the degree of our national industrial insanity,
- in measuring the amusing stupidities and galling cruelties of those in charge of the nation's industrial life,
- in surveying and outlining a better way, a new industrial set-up for the American people.

**SUCCESSFUL PRODUCTION IS THE ACTUAL PRODUCTION OF ABUNDANCE OF GOOD THINGS NEEDED TO SUPPLY ABUNDANTLY ALL THE WHOLESOME NEEDS OF ALL THE NATION'S PEOPLE.**

Success in production is, of course, the nation's first business, as a national foundation for all other worth while forms and phases of success and welfare. This is often denied, but

the denial is usually by men and women who themselves are well-dressed, well-housed, and enjoy plenty of big juicy steaks and fried young chicken, and freedom from economic worry, with time and energy for other phases of life.

Economic abundance is not all of life, but it is the rock-bottom foundation of a full life.

In surveying, laying out railways, canals and highways, and in measuring river-levels, tides, etc., surveyors assume and establish a bench level, to which all other elevations in the survey are referred as being above, at, or below that bench level, indicated with bench mark. Surveyors simply can't proceed without a bench level. Now, in this book some industrial surveying (measuring) will be done, and we naturally need a bench level, to serve us in this very informal survey. And since there's "*nothing doing*" in human life without industry to serve as the foundation of all phases and activities of life, let us call our bench mark, Success in Industry.

Kindly reread the definition of Success, for we shall begin to use it at once. Notice that SUCCESSFUL PRODUCTION is not simply the *potential* production, but the *actual* production of abundance of good things needed to supply abundantly all the nation's people.

Of course.

If not, why not?

A society may be physically and mentally capable of successful production, but socially incapable, because it is too *savage* or too *tame*. If successful production is now made possible by science, but is not *permitted* by the minority and is not *demand*ed by the majority, then the minority are savages and the majority are suckers. If the dominant *purpose* of the dominant class is not a social purpose (the abundant welfare of all), then that class can and will prevent the production of abundance for all; it can and will prevent success in production. Such a nation is a failure: socially insane and spiritually incompetent.

Now for the ten facts, facts of fire.

These ten facts are big enough, and hot enough, to blow off the roof of hell,—hot enough for a peaceful political explosion, hot enough to make millions of manly men unite and fight with all their might to banish nine-tenths of the nation's heartache, hot enough to make millions of men and women who in recent years have died and been buried in shoddy shrouds, rise from the grave and curse the system that cursed them to the tomb

before their time, and that now scourges their children with the whips of want in a land of plenty.

In other words, here and now I offer you ten loads of political dynamite for use in all local, state and national elections; ten loads of political dynamite to stun, stall and stop every coward, crook and side-stepper seeking election to public office; ten loads of dynamite to *clear the track* for the sons and daughters of toil who are willing to *pay their way through life with work* and help produce plenty for everybody who is willing to work.

But first, just a word with you:

It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts; and I trust you will take the ten big, bold facts in this chapter, and plant them in your neighbor's brain. Discuss them wherever and whenever you can.

These ten facts, and other facts like these, when understood, when realized, will swiftly clear the vision, reveal a grander goal, will fire and fuse and weld together millions of the best and bravest in a dozen movements now stirring through the land.

Now watch for these ten big, best facts, won't you? Here we go:

**Fact One.** As a nation we are able to produce plenty, abundance, for everybody, and able to do it now; and the farmers, workers and engineers are willing, eager, to do it now.

That's proved.

That's admitted.

That's boasted.

That's settled.

That is the top notch fact of all the first-class facts of the twentieth century. That fact is revolutionary,—will become revolutionary, just as soon as it reaches the minds of the multitude, clears the heads and heats the hearts of the sons and daughters of toil; for that fact, when realized, will become the basis of a new definition of justice,—the new justice.

#### THE STATESMAN'S NORTH STAR

This first fact should become, and will become, the statesman's compass and North Star.

What is statesmanship? Statesmanship is the origination and the promotion of public policies, programs and legislation such as will bring to all the members of society the highest measure of social and economic welfare made practicable by the achievements of all the sciences affecting human life.

A politician stands for anything he thinks the people will fall for; a statesman stands for what his best judgement approves for the people.

Statesmen in the United States must be forced to face the fact that plenty can be made available for all in this country now; and the statesman's first business now is to formulate and inaugurate the purpose and program of abundance for all . . . and *now*,—plenty for everybody now.

With the powerful light of that first fact every voter should search the heart and record of every candidate for public office. All candidates refusing to be guided by this first fact should be turned down flat.

Every possible thing is done by the ruling class to keep this first fact from reaching and firing the heart and brain of the common people. Ask your candidates: What have you done and what are you doing now to get this fact before the people?

As with a million-candle-power light, every American citizen's mind should be illuminated, set blazing, with this fact:

*The United States is now ready for Success in Production.*

That fact shows a clear track, free of physical barriers, to Plenty. May that fact please you, and the next fact sting you and stab you till you wake and *take an oath to fight for more, MORE!*

**Fact Two.** National abundance for all as a national policy is now brutally turned down flat, both by this nation's industrial masters, and by its political servants.

The production of abundance of everything for everybody is not permitted,—is actually prohibited; and the prohibition is accomplished by means of property rights, laws, courts, bribes and machine guns. In other words, *national success in the sense of producing abundance for all, is not wanted and is not tolerated by the class in control.* That seems an absurd statement. But it is correct statement of an absurd fact, a vicious fact. (We shall see.)

The prime problem in American industry and politics today is: How to destroy or prevent the abundance which the workers are able and willing to produce, but are kept too poor to buy and enjoy. Under the profit system, the production of plenty of everything for everybody (if insisted upon and actually attempted by the workers) would be a criminal act, and punishable with fines and prisons, with bombs, rifles and machine guns.

**Fact Three.** More than 100,000,000 Americans now live on less than abundance in the "Land of Abundance."

However, the abundant welfare of the whole people is *not* the dominant purpose of the dominant class, under the profit system. Less-than-abundance for the multitude of common people is a fundamental, elemental part of this nation's industrial policy, program and practice, regardless of all recent, present and future progress in the nation's production capacity. (We shall see.)

**Fact Four.** An average of \$100,000,000 a day, for seven years or more, since 1929, 300 days per year, has been "turned down," lost to American society through the employers' blunt refusal to permit industry to proceed full blast, using all workers all the time the workers were willing to work and serve society; for if all the employed and unemployed had been permitted to work *full time, full capacity, with the best available equipment*, they would have averaged the production of that much more than has been produced. Success has actually been prohibited. (See Chapters *Labor as Garbage* and *The Buzzards' Victory*.)

But a *five-dollar-a-day increase in the income of 20 million American families in 1929 would have increased our home market \$100,000,000 a day, or 30 billion dollars for the year, making a total of 120 billions, which would have just equaled our nation's production capacity in goods and services.* (See Chapter III.) This would have prevented the collapse of 1929, would have speeded up industry, and would have vastly increased the national welfare.

Permit no candidate to side-step this fact in the next campaign.

**Fact Five.** Three years of Success, that is in the production of abundance for all, would (under the profit system) produce at least ten years of disastrous depression in industry.

Business collapsed in 1929, though in that banner year production as a whole was running only three-fourths of full capacity, and for several years had been running far less than full capacity; and the collapse-and-depression of 1929 still hangs upon the country very heavily.

After more than seven years of this vicious and ridiculous national "embarrassment," our President, early in 1937, invited, urged, almost coaxed business men to employ the many millions still unemployed. The nation's business men have turned the

President down flat,—almost laughed in his face. Very few of the little fellows seem to know, but the big men of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the American Association of Manufacturers do know, that well-informed business men dread success in production.

Big Business now boasts 65 billion dollars already earmarked for immediate scientific extension and improvement of production plants, tools, machinery and methods. But in 1929 they got a dose of "over-production," through permitting the workers to "go to it" right briskly (yet much below full capacity) for three or four years, even with the equipment then used. Business men know that our 1937 industrial equipment and methods are far superior to those of 1929.

They know that the multitude are poor buyers, do not have a reward of plenty to buy plenty of the plenty, if produced.

They know this country is now operating under an industrial system that requires, not beautiful abundance, but arbitrary, artificial scarcity, *because of the arbitrary, artificial restriction on the reward of the multitude.*

Big Business is too shrewd to permit business to be choked with mountains of abundance,  
produced by the people,  
needed by the people,  
good for the people,  
but

kept out of reach of the people,  
with employers sneering at the hungry and hunting foreign markets for what American workers produced but were kept too poor to buy.

Big Business knows:

That with full capacity production for three years, mountains of "surplus" would pile up, unsold and unsalable, business would collapse, fear would grip the country and still further aggravate the collapse, taxes would increase as production and employment decreased (scores of millions needing support and unproductive work), the national debt would increase.

Big Business knows also:

That after three years of full-speed abundant production and then a smashing "necessary" shut-down, a standing army of a million men and a hundred thousand piffle-peddlers explaining poverty as "spiritually helpful" and misery as a "divine mystery,"—all these soldiers and chloroformers could not maintain "law and order,"—could not prevent blind, bitter, hideous riots



and finally rebellion,—full speed ahead for the revolution, with the profit system wiped off the map. They know that Success in the production of abundance for all, spells hell under the profit system.

Compel all candidates to answer: *Where do you stand on an industrial system under which success spells disaster?*

Don't accept an evasive answer. You know the kind of answers you usually get from politicians. A western governor once complained to Chauncy Depew that he was greatly annoyed by a fellow of desperate insistence just then waiting outside. Depew answered, "Why not give him an evasive answer: tell him to go to hell!"

**Fact Six.** For over seven years, fifty per cent of the time and energy of our national government (and many millions of the nation's cash) have been devoted (and are now in 1937 devoted) to problems growing out of the fact that production of abundance is prohibited, and millions of workers are in desperation because they are "not wanted" and not permitted to produce.

Any farmer who devoted 50% of his time and energy to preventing his farm and his family and himself from producing plenty of food for all the family,—any such farmer would be arrested for lunacy and "cared for" in an asylum.

Of course common sense and justice urge the production of abundance with a reward to the workers sufficient to buy abundantly of the abundance. Such a national policy would be sensible, just and self-sustaining, but not profitable. The profit system requires a national industrial economy of scarcity. Hence the politicians' worried look, their cross-eyed-cat-after-its-tail antics, year after year, in trying to "help the pooah," who need and desire simply, only,—*permission to produce* abundantly for a reward of plenty to buy plenty of the abundance.

Every statesman outside the lunatic asylum, able to count up to ten and divide by one, knows quite well that the distribution of a vast abundance of consumption goods is impossible until the multitude of consumers have plenty to buy plenty. But he doesn't discuss this matter in campaigns if he believes in the profit system. In the next campaign compel all candidates to discuss the Statesman's North Star. (See Fact One above.)

**Fact Seven.** A three per cent income on the 210 billion dollars thrown away in the form of willing but unused labor (thrown away as garbage during the first seven years of the

depression) would now provide \$100 a month as "social security," or "unemployment insurance," for 5,000,000 families forever; while our present national legislature proposes (always timidly) a *maximum* social security of less than \$100 a month for 98% of the socially insured, and a *minimum* as contemptible as \$19.50.

In the boastfully wealthiest country on earth! (See Chapter *Labor as Garbage*.)

"Calling all candidates!": What have you to say about *this* fact? Come across. No side-stepping.

**Fact Eight. Injustice is constitutional in the United States.**

Under our national constitution our industrial ruling class may prohibit, and does prohibit, national Success in Production; that is, the production of abundance for all the people. The brutal injustice, the brutal policy, of artificial scarcity and the tyrannical property right to bar fifteen millions from production, while many millions are in sore want and 100 million must live on less than plenty,—this sneering injustice is protected and forced upon us with courts, jails and machine guns, under the national and the state constitutions. Whether the Supreme Court have 9 or 19 or 29 Justices, old or young,—they will by oath be committed to the protection of the present industrial system, under which the simple justice of plenty in a land of plenty can be (and is) prohibited.

Ask your candidates: Where do you stand on the legal right of a ruling class to hold down industry far below the level of plenty for everybody while for years and years millions stand ready, coaxing for permission to help produce plenty for everybody?

**Fact Nine. The industrial ruling class of the United States accepts the present industrial system of artificial scarcity as suitable and final for this land of abundance!**

For a million years! Forever! And the rifles and chloroform are ready to protect and prolong this system and make it final if possible. It's up to the Giant Labor, the common people.

**Fact Ten. Silence reigns in high places on plenty for everybody.**

Yet the vast *new* fact, plenty is now available for all our people,—this new, astounding fact, changes the entire social situation in our land, as clearly and as deeply as our country's

geographic situation would be changed by shifting all the Rocky Mountain Ranges to straight east and west from Denver to Pittsburgh. Such a mountain shift, through a dozen short years would call loudly to the nation's statesmen:

*"Attention!*

*"Attention to this fact now!*

*"Discussion now!*

*"New plans now!"*

And yet from sea to sea,—on plenty, glorious abundance for *all* the people,—a snaky, sinister silence reigns.

Statesmen! Silent as dead fish on abundance for the people! Not so much as a daring whisper about plenty, even for the whimpering, sickly sucklings of the sons and daughters of toil. Statesmen biting their tongues till they bleed lest the lofty emotion of the brotherhood of man flame up and break through in volcanic flood, forcing them to speak, unguardedly (!) a few bold, hot words in defense of abundance for the lowly!

Silence reigns in the national legislature (excepting one or two noble voices), silence in the President's cabinet, silence in the White House, silence in forty-eight state legislatures and in forty-eight governors' offices, silence in every federal court, silence in ten thousand city and town councils, silence in chambers of commerce, silence in banker-and-business associations; everywhere in high places smooth and brutal silence reigns on abundance, *abundance to the limit now made possible for everybody by Science, Invention, Nature and Labor.*

Piously painting the sores of the miserable with the salve of chicken-neck charity and "relief," while pouring out hundreds of millions of the nation's cash as compensations (!) for actually *preventing* and *destroying* millions of tons of good things,—all this while slyly side-stepping the issue by silence on the fact that plenty is available for all,—all this is a grinning swindle and a pharisaic sneer at millions of victims hanging on the cross of privation, want and worry in a land of plenty. And all this shows scorn for the Statesman's North Star and compass: *Plenty could now be produced for all the people.* Skulking silence on abundance in a land of abundance for all, is a cruel betrayal of the humble, and should challenge the pride and courage of all the wronged, and of all who truly love their fellow men.

This blinking, slinking, stultifying statesmanship of silence on plenty is now embarrassed, and will hereafter be far more embarrassed, by the evolution of our power to produce plenty

for all; and as this statesmanship continues to be increasingly embarrassed it will be pitiless in its defense of pitiless capitalism,—pitiless!—while the winds of winter and the hot blasts of summer scourge the poor; pitiless while culture drops forgotten, while courage dies, hope decays, pride withers, and the souls of millions fade, wilt, waste away and die in ill-fed, ill-clad, unburied bodies, to be insulted through further years with “subsistence” in this land of boasted, bloated plenty, the richest land on earth,—insulted with the proud government’s *silence on plenty*.

This cold and crafty silence by industrial masters and their frigid statesmen spells out plain for all to read:

“Beware! Beware! In a showdown the hearts of American masters are cold enough to welcome the steel fist and the iron heel of Fascism.”

This disgusting, pussy-footing silence on the supreme issue of the twentieth century, photographs the pitiless savagery of production for profits, and of leaders who defend it. This yellow, side-stepping silence is louder than the thunder of a thousand storms, and cannot much longer conceal the dollar-bloated Beast that now prowls and plunders through five-sixths of the world as the profit system. Spiritually, this shady, heartless silence is the most hideous thing in all this land of plenty, aye, the coldest, vilest thing on earth; and it challenges all who have not been chloroformed, emasculated and struck dumb by the Beast.

### SUPPRESSED INFORMATION

Any fact that rouses slaves is a “dangerous” fact,—dangerous for the slaves’ masters:

Only recently seven southern states had laws providing a 250-dollar fine and a year in prison for the “crime” of teaching a negro slave to read (lest they learn too much). “Okeyed” by the Supreme Court under the stars and stripes. Certainly! Why not? Perfectly logical in the defense of the slave system. A thinking slave is a “dangerous” slave, especially if and when he gets the dynamite of certain facts in his blighted brain. Enlightened slaves become “hard to manage.” They soon cease to be the tame, timid, dull, dumb Mutts and Jeffs contented with mere existence; they cease to be silly enough to be contented to live on less than plenty in a land of plenty.

Salvation waits for information; fires of freedom burn best with facts. Hence the suppression of information is a common,

and effective, technique of tyrants everywhere, always. Here are a few illustrations:

1. *The 13th Annual Labor Report.*

In 1898, the learned liberal and sympathetic National Commissioner of Labor, Dr. Carroll D. Wright, with many helpers and vast labor, brought out the Thirteenth Annual Labor Report. It was a graphic and powerful presentation of the astounding superiority of modern machine production (even 36 years ago) over the old hand tools. Soon orders poured into his office for the report. It was inspiring. Then, right promptly, the Report was suppressed. The noble-hearted Commissioner of Labor, because funds were refused him, was forced to answer a multitude of requests with: "The report is out of print *for lack of funds.*" Out of print it was indeed, but not for lack of funds. There were hundreds of millions to pour into the Spanish-American War (for the American Sugar and Tobacco Trusts), but our country was too poor to print the "alarming" Labor Report,—alarming because too many common people began to *leap to the meaning of the facts in the Report.* Wright's report was far more important than the Spanish-American War of 1898, yet that report was suppressed, because it was dangerous for a slave to read, because it suggested the possibility of plenty for everybody. Plenty is too much for slaves.

"Keep 'em down! Keep 'em down!" is a far safer plan and policy (for the masters) under a system of production-for-profits.

2. Thirty years later, The Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes did a splendid job,—assembled and analyzed a mountain of invaluable data; *but* the multitude haven't time to read the 950 pages of two fat volumes, and are not able to buy the books. Though the Federal Government has one of the finest printeries in the world, still it is too cunningly careful to print and distribute at cost a red-hot, brief, illustrated summary of the two volumes for the rousing of the people.

3. The eminent and strutting citizens in the sodden city of Chicago in charge of the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933-34, left a certain conspicuous, ridiculous and vicious omission in the "big show." Why did they not have prepared, exhibited and placed on sale, at cost, a 100-page book showing a *century of progress* in industrial technology and machinery,—with fifty pages giving a hundred pictures of modern, up-to-the-minute industrial machinery, and fifty pages of comparison and explanation, *all showing what is now possible in the pro-*

*duction of plenty for everybody?* Why not? Such a book would have been an inspiration to 25,000,000 visitors at the Exposition, and to 50,000,000 more back home, too poor to attend the splendid show, but eager, ah, so eager, to "get a living," a good, full, rich living, *if permitted to do so*. Such a book would have been a logical part of the Exposition of Progress, and would have made it mean ten times more to the common people of our land. With such an opportunity, 25,000,000 copies could easily have been sold at ten cents a copy without a cent of loss.

This book could have been beautiful, powerful, rousing tens of millions to the realization of the time of day by the clock of industrial progress in the business of getting a living, an abundant living for everybody. Like a bell heard round the world, such a book, from such a source, *with such a message*, would have raised from the dead the millions who slumber in the death grip of mental sloth due to paralyzing hopelessness and despair. But the big boys were too shrewd to publish *just the book needed most* to rouse the multitude, to make them bold and lion-hearted in the coming struggle for the new justice of plenty for everybody.

The plain truth about this matter will raise the dead, dead in despair, and tortured with insecurity. Therefore, Caesar says, "Silence."

A friend of mine, a vigorous thinker and an incisive, persuasive speaker, spoke once,—just once,—in 1936 for one of the two old parties, presenting the matter of Abundance for All. His address was heard by one of the most distinguished lawyer-statesmen in California, who promptly gave the order: "That man must not speak again with that message for our party in this campaign. If that message gets abroad to the common people, we leaders are through!" (Through leading.) "Silence" is the tip.

An ignorant slave is usually a true slave. Therefore "pull down the blinds" lest the people get the light.

That is why the Federal Government suppressed the Thirteenth Annual Labor Report; that is why the management of the 1904 Exposition at St. Louis and of the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago had no inexpensive, illustrated book or booklet prepared showing a hundred years of *our nation's progress in capacity to produce food, clothing, shelter, furniture and the like*. That is why the capitalist press became suddenly silent on Technocracy, when millions of adults began to learn how amazing is our country's capacity to produce plenty for everybody.

Sh! Sh!

However, the battle is on! The red-hot war of *reason* against the **treason of silence** on plenty for everybody.

I am challenged, you are challenged, by this treason. Even wolves will go the limit, face death, to get plenty when plenty is available, for themselves and their young. Silence now on plenty shames our human species. This race-retarding silence must be broken, and broken now, by the plain people's servants and presumed "defenders." Yes, reader, yes, at least as much as that is due in bold and bitter phrase from any man who thinks himself a statesman. Don't you think so? Silence on abundance, silence now, by statesmen when Business begs for greater markets for the abundance, the creators of which are kept too poor to buy,—such silence shames our flag.

As soon as twenty million fleeced voters have sense enough to hear and hate this silence, some ten thousand salaried silent cowards will be fired from our city, state and national legislatures, never to return, their places filled by those, and those only, who are willing to be guided by the statesman's North Star and compass: Abundance is available for all now.

The ten prime naked facts of this chapter make no appeal to human flint, well-fed and all dressed up in flowing senatorial toga and silk hat.

But these facts will challenge the Soul of Toil itself, the soul of the teased, gypped, bitten, scorned slaves, and soon will call from Labor a hissing condemnation.

By these ten facts we are challenged indeed,—challenged to defend ourselves, to be worthy of the American Revolutionists, whose tracks in the snow and on the ice were often red with blood from ill-shod feet marching, marching, marching onward, *answering a challenge of their time*, marching forward in the sad but glorious drama that leads on to freedom. As they were challenged then, so we are challenged now,—challenged by America's polite but cold-blooded masters. We are challenged to prove whether we are ready for the social earthquake to shake the dollar-drunk parasites from the body of society; challenged to prove whether we are more than prideless, spineless, boneless human beef; challenged to prove whether we are *fit to fight* and worth fighting for, in the one great war worth while,—tomorrow.

Tomorrow! Ah, reader, think of it,—the great debate of the twentieth century,—not a debate on "five cents an hour more," but on plenty, abundance now, for all the people, the first war on this question in all the ages. Sublime contest!

Tomorrow . . . ere long the artillery of facts, a thousand facts that scorch, will thunder from coast to coast. How quickly that peaceful war could be opened for the battles of open discussion in this country on *this* question . . . if . . . yes, if—

If only for thirty minutes once a week for one month, President Roosevelt, kindly, charming man personally, matchless on the radio, with social vision that makes his recent predecessors look like midgets,—if he by radio should address (as he could) fifty million American listeners; or if the ninety-six United States Senators and the nine Justices of the Supreme Court, or if two thousand of this nation's most distinguished editors, educators and churchmen,—if the President or any or all of these small, but powerful groups, well advertised, should in the next thirty days for half an hour, four times, two hours in all, if these should thus address fifty million American listeners, and boldly, distinctly point out that *our country can now produce plenty for all*; that production engineers, farmers, mechanics, and other workers are eager and able to produce plenty for all; that plenty is not too much for the common people; and if these distinguished citizens also boldly urged the common people to “wake up and live,” to have *pride and spunk enough* to claim and demand the right to live *well*, served with the plenty they themselves are willing and able to produce . . . then, reader,

This is what would happen:

Discussion would swiftly sweep the country, creating a glorious war of ideas, a whirlwind of intellectual ferment, a fiery but peaceful national debate, leading straight on to a clarification of the situation; leading thence straight on to a national intellectual rebellion against want and worry in the midst of plenty for all.

Discussion, like an earthquake, would shake and wake the multitude from their sad and slothful meekness.

Labor would be electrified. The humbled, shriveled pride of Toil would leap from its tomb. The “dead” would rise and dare.

Thirty million voters, and many millions of the nation's youth would come back from the grave of their strangled hopes, and demand, not “a little more,” but Plenty.

Imagination would take fire. Each sweat-stained son of toil would seek his neighbor to talk, to plan, *to build a hot desire*.

Armed with a will as stiff as steel, the multitude would catch the stride for a sublime march forward, upward, defiantly demanding abundance.



Discussion would silence Big Business, blurbing and braying like jackasses about "over-production" while a hundred million American workers live on less than plenty, and could make reasonable use of a 100-billion-dollar increase in national income,—these piffle-peddling moral morons now teaching patience to tens of millions of their victims in the prison of want and privation,—these would subside for lack of listeners to be duped. The learned cackle and insipid twitter of several thousand "eminent economists" and statesmen discussing everything except plenty for the multitude,—all this oracular fog and froth would evaporate.

Discussion would simply drive industrial despotism from its throne with a national demand for the production and democratic distribution of abundance, a demand, not for profits for some people, for the "somebodies," but for the use, and plenty to use, for *all* the people, including the 100 million so-called "nobodies."

But alas! Save for a comparatively small minority of magnificent exceptions to the general run, the very "learned," the most highly "cultivated," the "best minds" (so-called) are with Big Business against abundance for the "common herd," the plain people.

### GENERAL SLAUGHTER

The time has come for a general slaughter. I mean, of course, a peaceful political slaughter at the ballot box, of any and all candidates who favor any industrial policy in which less than plenty is proposed for all who are willing to help produce plenty, plenty for everybody. Every candidate for election or reelection to any office, high or low, should be urged to answer *Yes* or *No* to this question:

Is plenty too much? Is the best too good for the working people?

If he refuses to answer, turn him down; for, secretly at least, he despises the common people, and is ready to double-cross them.

If he answers *Yes*, then turn him down; for he *openly* despises the common people.

If he answers *No*, then promptly insist that he show in his own record, *and in his party's record*, where he and his party have declared for the principles, policies and program of plenty for everybody, plenty *now*. If he can't do it, turn him and his party down. He's bluffing you.

Also ask him these questions: Do you know that our national

income in 1929 was 90 billion dollars? That we had the production capacity to make it 120 billions that year? And that we could have made our national income 150 billions in 1937?

If he doesn't know *these* things, then he doesn't know *where we are* in our industrial development, and therefore does not know *what the main issue is now* and he is too ill-informed to play the part of a *real* statesman in the new situation.

### AN ANIMAL STORY

A smart fox, too closely pursued by fast hounds, is glad to find a flock of sheep; for he knows a fine trick (often played by politicians). The fox runs round and round among the sheep, mingling his tracks among the sheep tracks, which have a pungent odor. The sheep tracks utterly confuse the hounds, which often lose a whole hour locating the fox trail. The hounds' delay gives the fox time to rest, and then run along, leaving the weary hounds far behind. The *fox* track is the main thing to be studied and followed by the hounds, of course. Well, the *main issue* before the multitude is: Plenty for everybody.

The candidate and his party can be tested by their actual performance on the main issue. Beware when the main issue is confused in the sheepfold of minor issues, and little or nothing is said or done on the main issue by the candidate and his party.

I trust you will be shrewd enough, and proud enough to elect Congressmen and Senators absolutely committed to this *real new deal* of plenty for everybody, everybody who is willing to work.

Help make this the all-commanding issue in American politics.

Hurrah for the supreme debate of the twentieth century:

Resolved: that the creator is worthy of his creations.

Resolved also that the worker who is *willing* to work, but denied permission to work, is worthy of the plenty he is willing to create.

### THE HOUR OF PRIDE

Reader, in the march of time this nation now gallops toward the hour of pride, resurrected pride, when the united common people will *demand* that our national legislature, our well-paid, well-fed Congressmen and Senators who control the rules of the struggle for existence, shall speak out boldly, not only for a few more dimes, a few more carrots and cabbages, for the desperate, or a half hour shorter work-day, not simply and always for anything *except* abundance,—but also boldly and

defiantly for abundance for all,—all who work or are willing to work.

We challenge all leaders, all statesmen, all clergy, all editors, all educators, all officials,—we challenge them all to answer clearly,—Yes or No:

Is plenty too much, is the best too good for the plain people who work or are willing to work?

We challenge the treason of silence on this supreme issue.

We stake our case on facts, and demand the New Justice: Plenty for everybody.

**FIRED BY THESE TEN FACTS**

and facts like these,

**MILLIONS OF BOLD WRONGED SOULS**

**WILL YET UNITE INTO A**

**FRATERNAL NATIONAL CONQUERING HOST**

and march under one banner stamped:

**Not a Cent Less Than**

**PLENTY**

**For All of Us!**

# CHAPTER VI

## JUSTICE

"One hour in doing justice is worth a hundred in prayer."

—A Mohammedan Proverb.

### WHAT IS JUSTICE?

"The true definition of justice is that it is the enforcement by society of an artificial equality in social conditions which are unequal. By it the strong are forcibly shorn of their power to exploit the weak. The same reasoning which defends existing social inequalities would logically condemn all civil justice. As a matter of fact and of history, the enforcement of justice by society has always been resisted by the strong and denounced as an outrage upon their right to reap the fruits of their superior physical or intellectual power. It is no longer so denounced, at least in the abstract, simply because it has become the fixed and settled policy of all civilized nations. Whenever an institution becomes thus settled it is accepted as a matter of course. It is forgotten that its adoption was the result of a prolonged struggle. The principle underlying it is lost sight of, and other policies involving the same principle are attacked as the first was attacked, the same principle being invoked against them. Thus the claim that the superior intelligence of certain members of society justifies the social inequalities that make up most of the history of the world, does not differ in any respect from the claims of the physically strongest men in a barbaric race to seize and possess the handsomest women and the finest oxen. With the progress of civilization society interfered in this policy and set up in its place what is known as civil, legal, or political justice, which is a reversal of the law of nature and a wholly artificial institution."—Lester F. Ward: *Applied Sociology*, p. 23, published by Ginn and Company.

For thousands of years in ancient civilization, and later under serfdom, the great assumption was:

Most men and women, brown, black, yellow and white, ought to be slaves regardless of brains and character. The slaves or serfs were forced or doped into accepting the assumption, and humbly lived the lives of slaves or serfs. Even in the grandest days of Grecian and Roman civilization 70% of the population were slaves. *And that was "justice" then.*

Today in the United States the great assumption is:

Plenty is too much for the common people. And the doped multitude meekly accepts this great assumption, and the people bend their necks to take the yoke as did the ancient slaves and serfs. *And this is "justice" today.* This is customary, legal and constitutional in spite of all industrial progress.

And for thousands of years, under slavery, under serfdom, and now under the profit system, an armed guard has always been ready, and is ready now, for use by the ruling class for enforcement of the social system derived from and built upon that assumption and theory of justice.

## THE NEW JUSTICE

Justice can not include the impossible. A million years ago, a thousand years ago, fifty, or even twenty-five years ago, it would have been unfair and absurd to have insisted that justice should include plenty for everybody,—simply because the production of plenty for everybody was impossible.

But it's different now in one country—only one: the United States. It became different here very recently. Our natural resources are so vast and well known and we are so served by science that we can now actually produce plenty for all our people. Therefore, now and henceforth, justice must include,—must be made to include,—plenty for everybody. Thus in the United States *science enlarges the meaning of justice.*

Of course in this new situation *justice* (glorious word) should certainly include the fundamental new meanings which we shall call The New Industrial Bill of Rights:

1. Justice hereafter must include the *right to work*. The universal teaching is correct: "Everybody ought to work." Well, then, the state should guard every person in the right to do what he ought to do.

If not, why not?

2. Justice hereafter must include the *right to use the means of production*.

A bird may be said to have the "right to fly"; but if it is denied the right to use the air, then of course its "right to fly" is useless and destroyed. The right to work involves the right to use the means with which to work. If a domineering few may legally shut the multitude of willing workers from the nation's production plant, then the "right to work" is a mockery and is destroyed.

If not, why not?

3. If everybody ought to work then *nobody should be permitted to avoid work* at the expense of other people's hard work. It is unfair and dangerous to permit the children of the ruling class to grow up guaranteed against work by the inheritance of wealth they never earned.

If not, why not?

4. Justice hereafter must include the willing workers' *right to operate the nation's production plant full capacity*, or at the highest level necessary to produce plenty for *all*.

It is empty chatter to talk of the justice of plenty for all, the right to work, and the right of access to the means of production, if, yet, a domineering Few may legally restrict production below the level of plenty for everybody. As soon as I am able to do so I will give a 10,000 dollar prize for a satisfactory denial of the following proposition:

The workers of a nation, able and willing to produce plenty for all the people, should be permitted to do so; and an industrial system is absurd which for any reason permits a ruling class to prohibit the production of plenty by the nation's willing workers. Statesmen, university presidents and "eminent economists" are urgently invited to go after the 10,000 dollar prize.

"But," you may ask, "what about a market for such a vast output?"

Rather simple: Just reward the workers with plenty to buy plenty,—make the creators' purchasing power equal to the results of the creators' effective producing effort.

But wouldn't prices advance and thus "eat up" the advance in reward? They would under the profit system, but not under a socialized system of **production for use and plenty to use**.

5. Justice hereafter must include *the workers' right to plenty*,—that their reward shall be plenty to buy the plenty they produce.

The ruling principle of the past and present, "Plenty is too much for the common people," will be repealed by this new revolutionary right to a reward of plenty to buy plenty. This throws down the barriers and permits the workers to go on board the good ship, Abundance For All, for the voyage of life; this right provides best seats at the banquet of life for the victims of the ages, the common people. This right will silence the mocking, insane yawp, "There must be under-consumption because there is too much to consume"; this right will silence the ponderous squawking about "over-production" while scores of millions are in need of permission to consume what they have produced.

If not, why not?

6. Justice hereafter must include the workers' right to deny any income whatever to persons who are of proper age and condition to work, but refuse, or forget, to work and help produce. No reward should go to any persons for simply *owning* portions of the national production plant; that is, justice must include the workers' right to enforce the biblical rule, "If he will not work neither shall he eat." This regulation will be a beautiful and interesting inspiration, and "sufficient incentive" to many of our "best people," who are bored with the humdrum of eating, dancing, etc. No matter how classically elegant and superlatively cultivated he or she may be, and no matter how barbarously uncouth and brutally ignorant he or she may be,—the man or woman who *can work but won't work* is a social parasite; and all social parasites, all drones of all kinds, should be sheared off the social organism, by rewarding them with exactly what they produce: precisely nothing!

If not, why not?

Parasites should not be permitted on board the good ship, Abundance For All. Right? Thus there will always be a greater plenty for those who do work.

In short, justice hereafter should include:

Plenty for all able and willing to work,

Plenty for all unable to work, and

Nothing, nothing whatever, for the "won't-works," high or low.

Perfectly reasonable, isn't it?

These six additions to the meaning or content of justice are absolutely necessary to guarantee that the good ship, Abundance For All, shall sail with plenty for all, and with all on board who have a proper claim to be on board.

This new meaning that must go into the word, *justice*, may be difficult for some of our "best people" to understand. However, it can be readily understood by the "common man," unless he has been doped with the teaching that poverty is a "divine blessing in disguise," doped into becoming a "model worker," that is, a model sucker, perfectly contented with his lot, doped till he has no interest in the tragic history of his own class, doped till he will contentedly hurrah for a foreign market for American porterhouse steak while he himself eats neck, liver and low round; doped till he thinks whatever is constitutional is right and whatever is legal is right (no matter who made the constitution and the laws nor what they were made for),—whatever is customary is right; doped till he gullibly accepts the assumption that well-dressed loafers of the leisure class are his "betters"



and should be permitted to loaf through life, occupying all the best seats at the banquet of life.

Surely the new situation makes the new justice perfectly logical,—doesn't it?

But while the justice of Plenty and Security, with rational labor and leisure, are now made possible for all of us with our national production plant, the wholesome enjoyment of the six rights set forth above is rendered simply impossible by the profit system.

Under the profit system *justice does not include, and can not include*, these new meanings for the word *justice*, because the profit system is a legalized organization and management of the national production plant for the purpose of denying these rights to the Many, for the benefit of the Few; and for the purpose of enforcing the policy that plenty is too much for the common people; just as chattel slavery and serfdom were systems for the same purpose.

Look at the present situation as to these new rights!

### JUSTICE "UNDER THE LAW"

America's present profoundest sociologist, Dr. E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, has this to say of classes legally fastened to the social body with the legal right to loot:

"The exploitation which most calls for examination is not that which exists despite the law, but that which being established in custom and law, has become institutionalized."<sup>1</sup>

Now what is really meant by "*justice*" *today* appears in the nation's constitution and laws and in the interpretation and administration of them. Nowhere under the Stars and Stripes would the word *justice* be interpreted to include such a wholesome, social, rational meaning as those in the six rights stated above. The mere suggestion of such meaning would be laughed out of court. Such meaning or content for the word *justice* would be ruled intolerable, irrelevant, illegal and unconstitutional.

*Justice under the law and the constitution* does include *public, official* defense of the vicious principle that plenty is too much for the common people.

*Justice under the law* does include the right of the industrial ruling class to prohibit national success; to sabotage the whole nation's production, slash the national income from 90

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<sup>1</sup>*Principles of Sociology*, p. 136, published by D. Appleton-Century Co.

billion dollars to 40 billions a year and plunge more than fifty million workers into the gloom of poverty and gaunt despair.

*Justice under the law* does include defense of the principle of private restriction and reduction, and even destruction of products, even while millions are in sore want, under-nourished, meanly clad, ill-sheltered, and thus easy victims of disease.

Aye, *justice under the law* also includes *public, official* restriction and reduction of production, even while 100 millions in this country live below the level of abundance.

*Justice under the law* includes official defense of the right of the private owners of the nation's industrial plant to shut the doors of thousands of mills, mines, factories and shops in the faces of millions of eager workers and drive them into the street to shiver and hunger and despair with their suffering dependents.

*Justice under the law* does now include the right of the Few to take from the workers all, all, *all* that they produce, since by law all that is produced in the mines, mills, forests, etc., belongs to those who own the national production plant; and to reward the workers for all their lives with simply sufficient to buy a cheap living, regardless of their amazing increase of power to produce.

*Justice under the law* now means that regardless of its usefulness in producing things needed,

1. Labor shall be used productively only when it is profitable.

2. Abundant labor shall never be used to produce abundance for all the people.

3. The Supreme Court and the War Department stand ready to nullify all legislation in conflict with these Laws 1 and 2 of the profit system. The use of machine guns is constitutional when turned against men claiming the right to produce plenty for all.

These laws, cunningly adjusted to the profit system, remind me of laws of other days.

The slave masters of ancient Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome, through thousands of years, made slave laws for the protection and the extension and operation of the slave system. In Europe for a thousand years the feudal masters made serf laws for the protection of the serf system. Likewise, before the Civil War there were federal laws in the United States forcing northern citizens to turn "bloodhound," and help hunt and return runaway slaves (many of them 90% Anglo-Saxon), fleeing from the clutches of their masters. All to fit and protect and help operate the slave system.

Just as chattel slavery and serfdom were legal and constitutional and flourished under national flags,—just as the rape of the serfs' prettiest daughters and the murder of serfs by French and English lords, were strictly legal, and protected by flags and governments "under the law" for nearly a thousand years,—so today, under the laws of every one of the forty-eight states, the gas bomb and the machine gun are ready to protect the lords of American industry in the prohibition of the production of plenty for everybody, and thus protect constitutional injustice. Tear gas bombs and vomitory gas bombs have recently been shipped into numerous cities in lots costing as high as \$75,000 for use against men on strike for a few dimes more per day, to buy a little more of the plenty.\*

Tell your neighbor:

Injustice is constitutional in the United States under the profit system.

A score of forms of outrage are now legal.

*Injustice under the law* now includes that the children and grandchildren of the present powerful Few regardless of character and intelligence shall not have to start from "scratch" as always required in a fair horse race; that these shall start in the race of life thousands of miles ahead of their competitors in the race, the children of the toilers on the farm and in the factory. Just to illustrate: Edsel Ford, with an outright gift from his father, starts to run the race of life two hundred million dollars ahead of other worthy youths; and during the World War, like young Junius Morgan, George Hearst and Vincent Astor, he was not sent to face hell on the firing line. All these husky young men stayed home and "made" money, running the race of life, steadily enjoying plenty.

The law includes that these children of the industrial rulers shall inherit the ownership of the nation's industrial plant with the privilege of thus looting the workers, the privilege of high reward, not for productive labor, but for simply owning production property,—with the legal right to fire millions of their fellow citizens into the street, unemployed, seedy and sore of heart.

Justice is a mockery as the laws are interpreted and administered under the capitalist, production-for-profit system. Even Chief Justice Taft said, "The poor man has no chance in court against a corporation."

Yet the nation's press and schools, the nation's statesmen and business men urge the workers and their children to hur-

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\*Harper's Magazine, May, 1935.

rah gullibly for this vicious profit system "because it yields justice to all"!

### WHAT ABOUT OUR CONSTITUTION?

Well, for example, it gives a citizen of Nevada 82 times as much influence in the United States Senate as a citizen of New York, and ere long the Nevada citizen will have 100 times as much. And this feature can not be amended!

The constitution as at first adopted contained no bill of rights.

Under federal law a man's life is conscripted for war, but his property is not conscripted.

The constitution provides two ways for its own amendment; yet the Supreme Court has *given itself* the power to amend the constitution and balk the National Legislature.

Injustice was boldly, brutally arranged for in our constitution by our forefathers at the start. Slave-catching in far-off Africa and slave importation by Americans was written into the constitution for a definite term of years,—till 1808. Slavery with its long list of cruelties was strictly constitutional for eighty years. (See Question 29, Chapter XVII.)

### PROPERTY IS SACRED. HUMAN LIFE IS NOT SACRED.

Comfort, health, peace of mind and glad firesides for the common people are *not* sacred compared with the privately owned national production plant.

A dozen owners of a huge shut-down factory can command the state governor to send 1000 militiamen to drive 5000 willing workers from the factory and keep these eager workers from entering and using the factory to help produce plenty for all, but these same 5000 workers can *not* command the governor to send even one militiaman to help *open* the factory gate so that they may enter and produce, even though they and their wives and children (25,000 in all) are desperate in their hunger and misery. Military officers, high or low, would be promptly dismissed or imprisoned if they boldly refused defense of private property, with all or part of the national production plant shut down or running at half capacity, even though a dozen million half-starved workers sought to enter and produce plenty.

Through recent gloomy years many millions of American citizens, day after day, have stood for weary hours in blistering heat and cruel frost before closed and silent factories, peacefully coaxing for permission to work to earn bread and shelter for themselves and their loved ones, while our glorious national

flag waved proudly over the closed mills, protecting these sacred mills against the hungry men, women and children.

Unprotected by our beautiful national flag, unprotected by our steel-ribbed national constitution, millions of little children for years have nightly tossed in their sleep troubled by painful dreams induced by hunger and cold; and hundreds of thousands of sucklings have tugged at wilted, empty breasts of under-nourished mothers, while the production of abundance for all of us has been *prohibited* for years and years (and is prohibited now) by Big Business and the Federal Government! (See following chapters: *Labor as Garbage, The Buzzards' Victory, and Not Permitted.*)

Concerning the American flag and the American Constitution, let me be clearly understood. I believe in the constitution, including the right to amend it. Our constitution is truly wonderful, because, you see, those who are in control of the American Constitution can make it protect *their* idea of justice. I am strong for the American flag, and against the abuse of it. The American flag is beautiful, truly beautiful, to me; and it is too good to be misused for the protection of silent factories whose gates are cruelly locked against millions of half-starved men eager to work and serve society. No voluntary social parasites, rich or poor, should *have any voice* whatever in the control of the constitution and the flag.

## JUSTICE IN THE JUNGLE

A hundred thousand years ago, might made right in the jungle and the sea; and so it is today among the beasts. Two thousand years ago, might made right in Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome; for a thousand years, might made right under serfdom; and so it is today under the profit system. The cruelty of ancient days has *changed its form*, but it still lives on in the souls of modern Caesars, and expresses itself today through the industrial system of production for profits. Might makes right, and **rights are empty dreams if not defined and defended by those who need them and go after them.**

Using the same right of might that nature legalizes, possessed by mountain lions to have their way with a herd of deer found in midwinter in the forest, stuck in a "deer yard," that is, surrounded by deep and crusted snow over which they can not escape,—thus in the industrial jungle, production for profits, the industrial lions, the Big Boys, generals, colonels and captains of industry, find the common people stuck in the deep and crusted snow of poverty and near-poverty, "easy meat" legally.

## WHAT IS A RIGHT?

A right is a privilege defined and granted by society, and which society stands ready to defend. A "right" vanishes into thin air as mere wind and nothing if it is *denied*, and the state fails or refuses to defend the possession of the right.

In ancient Rome the slave-owner could goad his slave to terrible toil, could torment and kill his slave, quite legally; likewise the noble Roman's jealous wife could knife and scar the lips and cheeks and breasts of the prettiest slave girls, to make them less alluring to her noble spouse,—quite legally!

Today the right to deny work to workers is the masters' right, as justice, and is defended by the state. The workers' "right to work" is not recognized as justice and is not defended by the state. Tens of millions of Americans talk proudly of their "rights." But in actual practice and experience a claimed "right" can at any time be erased by the mighty through the right of might,—economic might.

If the workers would take one good, long look at 12,000,000 workers *claiming* various important rights, such as the right to work,—but despised, insulted and outraged through eight long years, then perhaps they would realize that whoever claims a right must be sure the state stands ready to acknowledge and defend that right.

Until the multitude *control the state* and are thus in position to define and defend the rights they need, their fate is sealed. The dice of life are loaded against them. Might is right under the profit system. Private property rights in the nation's strategic forms of wealth give the ruling class the legalized right of vast economic might to throttle down production, and sneer in the faces of a dozen million hungry unemployed and 100 million Americans who live below the level of plenty.

No matter how vast our production capacity may be today, 1937; no matter how vast it may be in 1950 or in the year 2000, we are not now, and we never shall be, permitted to produce plenty for all, if we keep the profit system; because the masters do not now and never will agree to plenty for everybody. Never, never, while the profit system is tolerated, will the multitude be permitted to hear the thrilling call, "All ready! All aboard!" and go on board the good ship, Abundance For All, for a joyous voyage across the sea of life.

Never!

That's settled.

This policy, this practice, this profit system, legally defended with courts, jails, gas-bombs and machine guns, this

vile thing, hideous as a reptile, poisons civilization, rots the soul of society, bars the multitude from the banquet of life; this is the ugliest thing in the world. Do you still doubt it? Then, I beg of you, please read "*Labor as Garbage*" (next chapter).

IT IS THE LAW of the profit system: Plenty is too much for the common people.

THIS IS ALSO THE LAW: Plenty will *always* be too much for the common people, till they read, rouse, rise, unite and demand.

We shall see, in the next two chapters, how far the masters are willing to go, what violence they are willing to use, to prevent the common people from going aboard the good ship, Abundance For All.

Reader, kindly consider for a moment the noble and thoughtful creature that Shakespeare, the dictionary and the Holy Bible respectfully call the jackass. Let us gratefully make his acquaintance. He's such a help as a thinker (!), teaching us by his own example. Even this unpretentious creature would refuse to accept thistles and ragweeds as justice, if abundance of fresh clover were all around him all the time. Wouldn't he? Let us take the hint and take off our hats to this gorgeous and deeply philosophic animal that would surely insist, "Under the circumstances, justice must include clover"; and he would have guts enough to go after it. No wonder Christ rode him on his famous trip to Jerusalem.

The needy, seedy, under-fed, fear-cursed multitude will insist on having the *New Justice* of plenty just as soon as it is roused from its deadly meekness,—roused chiefly by two facts:

1. That science does now make plenty for everybody possible in the United States.
2. That the New Justice will never be permitted while goods are produced for profits, and are therefore produced for the special benefit of those who live on profits.

The New Justice will have to be defined, organized, inaugurated and operated *by the workers*; for the present "justice" suits the ruling class. Of course!

And the workers will have to get complete control of the powers of government to be in a position to put the fraternal, decent and social meaning legally into the splendid phrase, "justice under the law." Humbly sucking their thumbs and whimpering, "'Tain't right. Somebody ought to do something about something," will get them precisely *nowhere*.

But the dynamite of facts will rouse them. It's coming,—the new order.

The cold-blooded cruelty and the mocking irony of the present hideous hunger and misery in the midst of plenty, the vicious sabotage against plenty, and the planning of mere subsistence surrounded by abundance, all this sneering cruelty can not be matched in all the history of human meanness, and begins to be understood.

It is coming! the new justice. We salute those devotees of science, the swiftly growing regiments of royal, loyal engineers of industry, loaded with facts of fire, now urging the multitude to rouse and dare to meet them half way and unitedly fight for abundance for all of us.

### CHOOSE, READER, CHOOSE:

Meekness with want and rags and shame, or  
Courage with pride and plenty.

Plenty, plenty, plenty for everybody,—you too! Come!  
Come! Give your soul for the battle of the ages, the sublime  
and beautiful struggle to *get yours*.

Revenge?

Bah!

Don't waste your time and sear your soul with silly thoughts  
of vengeance toward those who rule you and rob you. *They*  
have at least the pride, the fine pride, to want plenty, and sense  
enough to make and use the laws in self-defense in getting  
plenty.

Think this thing through till the white-hot light of justice  
flashes through your brain,—the new justice of plenty for every-  
body in a land of plenty.

What? The constitution? The laws? The courts? The  
flag?

*Use your rights:* unite and *amend* the constitution.

*Use your rights,* and *make* the laws.

*Use your rights,* and *be* the courts.

*Use your rights,* and bear aloft, yourselves, the Stars and  
Stripes, and have Old Glory stand for you too.

*Use your rights,* and think and plan and lead the way to  
the full, glad life that ought to be for you,—you too,—  
the life of plenty in this land of plenty.

*And do it now, while yet these rights belong to you.*



We must begin this fundamental reorganization at once, and move fast. This may sound revolutionary. Justice *would* be revolutionary. But who's afraid of justice? None but slaves, cowards, tyrants and loafers. Remember: Plenty for everybody is all right morally; therefore it can not be all wrong politically. Justice is safe for society.

Let us bravely greet the dawning of the sublime new era.

Well? Well, if you want big things done get in and **help do them.**

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all,—the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—From WAR—WHAT FOR?

## CHAPTER VII

### LABOR AS GARBAGE

or

### LEGALIZED, SILK-HATTED SABOTAGE DE LUXE

(Sabotage is arbitrary, artificial obstruction of production.)

For a million years the supreme task, the main issue, has been to get ready to produce plenty for all. We have succeeded. Then the issue now is:

Shall we use the equipment and actually produce plenty for all?

Here is the answer of the masters of the production plant:

"No! No! So help us, gods and devils, we will not! We'll be damned if we will permit the workers to use the means to produce plenty for all the people. We'll be damned if we will permit industry to proceed even at three-fourths capacity since there is insufficient market in which to sell *at a profit* all that can be produced. Moreover, we will not,—we'll be damned if we will!—reward the workers with plenty to buy plenty of the plenty they are able and willing to produce, and thus furnish sufficient market; because that would cut profits, and we are after profits only. Therefore curtail industry. Shut 'er off! Close the doors! Lock the gates! Fire five million, ten million, fifteen million workers! Let 'em go! To hell with 'em! Let them suck their thumbs till we can make use of them again in business for profits.

"Our class has had the working class bluffed for centuries. We've got 'em bluffed now. With the press, school, radio, church, and with courts, jails, gallows, gas bombs and rifles, tanks and machine guns, and also with lean 'relief,' cheap charity and 'subsistence farms,'—in short, with hot air and cold steel we're going to keep them bluffed! Moreover, we've got 'em thoroughly tamed. It is so much easier to manage tamed workers, tamed with flattery and promises. Thus we win. Build or patch up a few thousand petty little 'working class homes,' or homelets, and tell 'em to lie down and forget it."

Thus, in substance, spoke America's industrial Caesars in October, 1929, in 1930, and through the years.

To hell with 30,000 million days of labor, just recently ready for use here in the United States, where "sentiment in business" is scorned with a loud "ha, ha"; where "business is business" and "there is no sentiment in business," and cunning and might make right.

By the total loss of 30,000 million days of labor, we mean labor ready but not used productively. This total includes full-time unemployment, part-time unemployment, intermittent unemployment, maladjusted employment, seasonal unemployment, and also the unemployment of a high proportion of youths reaching work age at the rate of 50,000 every thirty days.

### ELEMENTS OF WASTED LABOR

First: The enormous loss of labor by the discharge of millions of workers, and the billions of days' labor lost by forcing many millions on part-time schedules, even as low as one, two and three days a week for years, in mills, mines, factories and other places of work.

Second: The labor lost through the federal government's contemptible (but imperatively urgent) "suggestion" issued to states, cities and county authorities that they should move with ignorant jackassinity back to the antiquated ox-cart days, and force the hungry and desperate millions of unemployed men to do even unproductive work awkwardly,—forcing them to do wheelbarrow, pick-and-shovel work, instead of having the work done with the improved, up-to-date, high-efficiency means.

Even as recently as February, 1936, this cruel policy was still in vogue. In Los Angeles, for example, on one job 4000 men were "employed" on one mile of open cut work, equipped only with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows! This mile of cut, which could be accomplished in a few weeks by 150 men with modern equipment, consumed 4000 men for many months, entailing a waste of nearly 500,000 days of labor life. And this had the sanction of the "big, brainy business men" of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, advised by the federal government.

Of course we count as lost the labor of multitudes misemployed in leaf-raking, sand-piling, chip-flipping "made" work. Thus it is for millions of men for year after year, while at least a million women willing to produce have had not even "made" work provided for them for years.

Third: Not included, of course, the utterly unproductive, and worse than wasted, labor of the multitudes of men and women in superfluous "personal service,"—men and women who

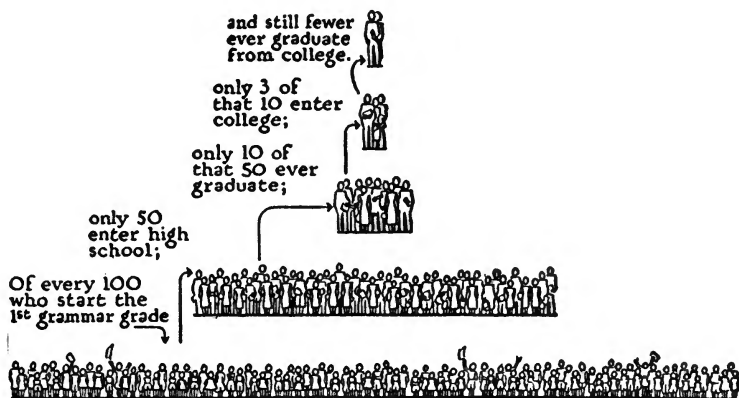
as industrial neuters serve in a dozen roles, as lackeys for the purse-vain crew of exploiters and their flattering, fluttering hangers-on.

Fourth: We do not count (but perhaps we should count) the huge loss of labor misemployed in producing insane and insulting luxuries ("conspicuous consumption" luxuries) to satisfy the vulgar vanity of plutocratic Caesars and their loafing, pampered, parasitic pets.

Fifth: Not included here is the vast loss of labor due to wasteful duplication in uncoordinated, unscientific jungle-competitive industry. The labor lost in this way is enormous and impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

Sixth: Youth out of work. Most reports on the unemployed do not include (but they should include) the multitude of young men and women up to 25 years of age who have *never had a job*, having come to working age during the depression, an average of at least four millions having had no productive employment for more than five years. Here are some estimates by reliable authorities:

John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, said in 1935 that more than 12,000,000 young people have reached work age since October, 1929, and a very large proportion of these "have not been able to take their places as producing and contributing citizens in our society."



"Don't make the mistake of thinking that only the 'dumb-bells' drop out. Many good students drop out because of ill health or poverty. . . . Boys and girls all over the country find nothing but a blank wall in front of them. . . . The government has made provision for the boy who hits the road as

<sup>1</sup>Literary Digest, May 18, '35.

a vagrant, for the student, and for the C. C. C. volunteer; but his brother and sister who stay at home to try to keep the family together have received no encouragement whatever.”\*

An editorial in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, May, 1934, says that “out of 3,000,000 young people who have left high school in the last three years, one half of them can't get jobs and can't continue with school. The National Y. M. C. A. investigation shows less than 10% of them at work.”

Congressman Thomas R. Amlie of Wisconsin, speaking in the House of Representatives in August, 1935, said, “It is estimated that there are in the United States today between eleven and twelve million young men between the ages of 19 and 29. There are an equal number of young women between the same ages; . . . from 45 to 70 per cent of these young people are unemployed. . . . Thus there are between eleven and sixteen million young men and women between 19 and 29 who have reached manhood and womanhood only to find the world does not need them.”\*

Millions of these are graduates of high schools and colleges. There they are,—facing life in a system that *even in normal times* defeats 95% of those who undertake business,—there they are, eager to stride down life's highway,—and no place to go. Moreover, millions of our youth are drifting toward despair, or worse.

The late Governor Floyd Olson of Minnesota, in a national radio broadcast in New York City, Nov. 16, 1935, said, “In the last five years a large New York publishing house which formerly hired a large number of college graduates, has received 15,000 applications, and has hired none. The National Committee on Mental Hygiene estimates that there are 6,000,000 unemployed educated Americans.”

### GENERAL ESTIMATES OF UNEMPLOYED

On March 4, 1933, the *New York Financial Chronicle*, an unwilling witness, estimated the number of unemployed as between 15,000,000 and 16,000,000.\*

Dr. Harold Rugg of Columbia University estimates that in 1932 nearly twenty million were out of work, including those on part time and the youths who had never worked at all.\*

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\*Kingsley Davis: *Youth in the Depression*, pp. 9, 10, 12, 42. Chart and quotation by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

\*From the magazine, *Facts*, Jan., '36, published by W. Scott Lewis, Hollywood, Calif.

\*See also *Business Week*, Jan. 18, 1933.

\*Harold Rugg: *The Great Technology*, Preface.

The estimate of the unemployed in the spring of 1933 by Federal Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins was 18,000,000.

The Board of Directors of the United States Chamber of Commerce in session at Washington, D. C., the second week in October, 1936, boasted that "private enterprise had put back to work seven million of the unemployed." Since there were still, in 1936, at least ten million unemployed, then there must have been (on the Chamber's own claim) at the peak of unemployment in 1933, at least seventeen million out of work.

Surely  $13\frac{1}{2}$  million as the average number of unemployed for the last  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years is a conservative estimate, which gives a total of over 30 billion days of labor lost.

In reaching this total we are guided also by the illuminating fact that even in the banner year of 1929 one-fourth of the nation's productive capacity was unused, and that even this three-fourths capacity production (as indicated by national income) was later cut to as low as  $37\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the nation's potential productive capacity. We keep in mind also that, beyond reasonable doubt, now after  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years, at least 10,000,000 are still out of productive work.

Thus, after very conservatively omitting huge losses that could be included with much reason, and making no effort whatever to "stuff" any of the estimates, counting thus, it is perfectly safe to say that within a few months' time, on or before June 30, 1937, the total will reach 30,000 millions days' labor, kicked into the garbage can.

These 30,000,000,000 days of labor have been unused,—junked to rot on the labor-garbage dump of "business for profits" (by big business men) for the same reason that a fruit merchant, late Saturday evening, dumps quite ripe fruit into the garbage to rot,—simply because the perfect fruit (needed, useful and ready to be used) is useless to *him* if it can not be disposed of at a profit. Lost forever, like an uneaten ripe banana.

Under the profit system labor is a commodity, a thing bought and sold, as steel, pumpkins and cheese are bought and sold. Judge Wm. Howard Taft of the Federal Court (later of the United States Supreme Court), presiding in a railway strike case in 1894, said, "The workers have labor to sell."

A banana, thoroughly ripe and ready for use today, can not be used next week. It must be used at once or never. And so it is with labor-energy when ready for use. The energy generated in a human body, ready for use today, can not be used next week, but like thoroughly ripe bananas must be used within forty-eight hours or never. If you want to sell labor-energy

tomorrow or the day after, you must get a new supply. This swift "decay" or "evaporation" of labor-energy ready for use gives the employer a cruel advantage over the workers. The sabotaging of ready, willing labor means immediate loss for the worker, and for society.

**This huge waste is "justified" under the rules and ethics of the profit system.** And this vast total waste is protected by the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Transportation Managers' Association, and by other organizations of "big, brainy business men."

Consider the vast sabotage against social welfare; consider the boundless tragic violence against society:

30,000 million days,—240 billion hours! of eager labor refused, rejected, by Rolls-Royce leading citizens, with their ruthless "rugged individualism"!

Is \$7 a day a reasonable estimate of the value of this lost labor? Well, in round numbers we had not more than 50,000,000 workers of all kinds in 1929. In that year our total potential national income was \$120,000,000,000. Dividing that potential income by the total number of available workers gives us a quotient of \$2400, indicating roughly that the average annual production per worker could have been not \$7 a day (for 300 days a year), but \$8. That, on the average, American labor provided with the best known equipment and under scientific management to eliminate waste labor (as it should be), is worth \$7 a day, would seem reasonably conservative. This gives us 210,000 million dollars as the social value of the labor wasted in seven years and a half.

This calculation, while not offered as meticulously accurate to the last and least detail, is certainly helpful in realizing the approximate total value of the recently wasted labor, unsocially thrown away because it "wasn't profitable." This estimate is conservative; it is actually 77,000 million dollars *less* than the nation's loss for *five* years beginning with 1929, due to unemployment, misemployment and bungled employment, as analyzed and presented in the Report of the National Survey of Production Capacity, which gives 287 billion dollars as the total difference between the actual income in the *five* years beginning in 1929 and what could have been produced.

Here is an estimate for *six* years:—

"For the first six years of the current depression, the United States lost 100 billion man-hours of work through unemploy-



ment, and beggared itself of some 200 billion dollars' worth of goods and services which the industrial plant was equipped to produce."—Stuart Chase: *Rich Land Poor Land*, p. 246, published by The Macmillan Company.

Judging by the data given by Dr. Loeb and his fifty associates, showing the easily possible production for the five years, 1929-1933, and judging also by the condition of industry for the two years, 1934-'35, the total practicable production that was not permitted in the *seven* years exceeded 400 billions; that is, nearly double the amount estimated above.\*

Kindly note carefully. We know that our potential national income in 1929 was 120 billion dollars, and that actual and easily practicable technological progress could have raised that potential income to an average of 125 billion dollars for the first seven years of the depression; or a total of 875 billions. But we know that our actual national income for the seven years has been not more than 60 billions per year, or a total of 420 billions. Subtracting our actual income for the seven years from our potential income for the same period, we find that our total income for the seven years has been 455 billions less than it could have been. This makes our estimate of 210 billion dollars loss for seven and a half years quite conservative indeed.†

This monstrous, insane waste of labor, to prevent abundance, can be more clearly realized if we study for a moment a list of things that wasted labor would buy.

The lost 210,000 million dollars would pay for the *grand total* of the following good things:

1. **Food for seven years** for 25,000,000 persons (\$3 a day for each of 5,000,000 families,, five per family).....\$ 38,325,000,000
2. **Clothing for seven years** for 25,000,000 persons (\$600 yearly for each of 5,000,000 families..... 21,000,000,000
3. **Homes for 30 to 40 years** for 25,000,000 persons (a home for each of 5,000,000 families ..... 20,000,000,000

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\**The Chart of Plenty*, p. 157; also *The Consumer's Guide*, June, 1935; also *The American Teacher*, Nov.-Dec., 1935.

†NOTE: In December, 1938, Leon Henderson, executive secretary of the Temporary National Economic Committee, told the Committee that our losses in terms of dollars in the depression, up to that time, amounted to \$293,000,000,000.

4. **One-half of all the nation's taxes for seven years** (seven times one-half of \$10,-424,424,000, which was the total of all federal, state, county, municipal and township taxes in 1930, the maximum-tax year, in the "great engineer's" administration)..... 36,485,484,000
5. **Science for seven years** (two billion dollars per year, approximately ten times the actual present amount devoted to the promotion of science in the United States. This would rapidly augment our national production capacity ..... 14,000,000,000
6. **Pensions for seven years** for all citizens sixty years old, or over, in 1930 (10,385,026 persons, \$1100 per year)..... 79,964,700,200

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Total in terms of money.....\$209,775,184.200

7. Also guarantee the health, peace, pride, happiness and education of many millions of men, women and children.

These vast losses listed and illustrated above do not include, they do not reveal, the heartache, the tears, the darkened lives in the gloom-filled homes, the misery, dirt, disease, despair and death, the lost courage, the starved hopes, love defeated and turned to gall, the millions of children born to wither and wail and die before their faces ever dimpled with a smile, the hideous national blight, tens of millions hanging crucified,—for years,—on the cross of poverty.

Magnificent, isn't it?

But,—well . . . Suppose the lost 210,000 million dollars' worth of unused labor would meet all these huge bills for these good things . . . what of it?

Oh, nothing,—nothing whatever, under the "established law and order" of the profit system, protected by courts, jails, schools, press, and the constitution,—defended also with prayer,—prayer "for the preservation of our American institutions," including the profit system.

What,—to the ruling class,—are plenty and comfort and culture and the beauty of safety and happiness in the homes of 100 million American workers who live on less than plenty?

Nothing. Nothing at all, if there is no profit to the ruling class in their labor. Here's the proof:

This 210,000 million dollars' worth of potential social goods and services has been spewed out as useless, nothing, mere garbage, by the drooling god of Profits in 7½ years.

A word here to the Townsend Plan people:

This huge labor waste amounts to 30 billion dollars annually. One half of this annual waste would provide a 100-dollar a month pension for 12,500,000 persons; and the other half would pay *all* the national, state and local taxes of Hoover's big-tax year (\$10,424,424,000) and leave 4½ billions a year for education and the advancement of technology for increase of production capacity.

A word to the Utopians, Epics and Technocrats:

Let's concentrate the nation's attention on what the humble multitude loses under the *profit system*. The above estimate of wasted labor loss in the last seven years (210,000 million dollars) is actually far less than half the real loss under the system of production for profits.

Attack the profit system all along the line, and get together for fundamental reconstruction.

To help us realize still further the nation's tragic loss through this unused, despised and wasted labor, let us use another illustration.

Boulder Dam is surely one of the crowning achievements of mankind: it protects millions of rich farm acres from disastrous flood in Imperial Valley; supplies water for irrigation of a million acres; and furnishes at least 1,500,000 horsepower\* for heat, light and power for millions. The enterprise, complete, with power-plant, transmission lines and main irrigation canals, cost a little more than \$200,000,000.†

But this total cost could be met with the value of the labor *lost in the unemployment of 12 million workers for less than two and a half days.*‡

*Two and one half years* of this wasted, lost labor would be worth over 60,000 million dollars. At \$600 per horse-power (more than three times the present average cost) for dams, hydro-electric power-plants and transmission lines, the 60,000 million dollars would be sufficient for the recovery of 100,000,000 horsepower. (See p. 225 in Chapter, *Social Planning*.)

\*Arthur Brisbane reported 1,835,000 horsepower.

†R. B. Simmons: *Boulder Dam and the Great Southwest*.

‡Counting \$7 a day average wage. See p. 106, this chapter.

Thus the earth-pull on water in streams could be transformed into electricity; 100,000,000 horse-power: equal to far more than *all* the energy of all kinds (except human energy) now used by the American people in manufacturing, mining, lumbering, agriculture and transportation.

Think of it! Heat, light and power for everybody, for almost every purpose, for nothing, or nearly nothing, forever! if, — ah, *if* for this splendid purpose we had saved two and a half years of the seven years of labor-life which big business men recently condemned as worthless garbage because “not profitable” *for them*.

But, . . . but what about capital for upkeep, new machinery, overhead, and as rent, interest, dividends, etc.? Don’t get all in a lather. That’s the heart of the “racket” called the profit system, and is discussed on pages 227-229.

But learn this well: it doesn’t matter what thirty months of the recently lost, wasted labor-life *could* have produced for *all the people*, if that labor-life couldn’t be used to make profits for *part* of the people. No matter what Labor could have done, or would have done, and would gladly do, now or in the future, Labor is useless, — useless even in doing useful things, if it is not useable in the game of profits,—under the profit system.

This vast, astounding waste of labor-life is (really!) legal, constitutional and *backed by every cannon under the flag*; and thus America’s industrial masters have been able easily to get away with it, smiling and sneering at the hungry and seedy multitude, the multitude still too tame to fight back.

## THE RIGHT TO WORK

Oh, . . . ah . . . yes, of course, when you see billions of days’ labor unused, pouring into the garbage, you naturally, and perhaps innocently, think of the “sacred right to work”.

Well, reader, there isn’t any such right admitted or permitted, defined, declared or defended in or by the laws and constitution of *any country on earth doing business under the profit system*. Might makes right in the jungle of the beasts, and there the zebra has *no right to live*, in the clutches of a lion. Industrial might makes right in our modern profit jungle, and there the common man has *no right to work*, in the clutches of the class who dominate the profit system. What most people mean by their “right to work” is what they *ought* to have. The so-called “right to work” is but a cruel farce, and vilely teases manly men who tramp the streets and beg for work. Look at the facts and note the mountain of violence to millions of decent

men and women, and to society as a whole, through the flat and triumphant denial of the "right" to work. Think it through.

No "silly social sentiment" restrains the hateful reptile coiled to crush a passing fawn; no "silly social sentiment" softens the heart of a shark in his rush upon his victim in the sea; no "silly social sentiment" makes mild the hungry eagle as he swoops upon a lamb; no social sentiment cools the blood-lust of the killers in the jungle, sea and air.

Likewise, — likewise no fraternal sentiment holds back the *ruling class* when they coldly plot for profits, nor in their hungry hunt for profits; nor does any "silly social sentiment" restrain the masters' orders when they slam ten thousand doors in the faces of a dozen million starving workers, and hold them closed for seven cruel years, and more, in the jungle called the profit system.

What,—to a rushing lion—are the bleat and scream of his victim?

Nothing. Nothing at all! The lion is a go-getter, a leading citizen of the jungle, that sneaks through the grass and lies in wait, ever ready to use force and violence, a *rugged individualist* whose interest is flesh and blood. He knows no social purpose, no social sentiment, no social ideal. Ruthless killer, the head of the jungle's chamber of commerce, he knows "no sentiment in business". Thus he is "successful", as with flashing tusks and thunder roar he plainly boasts:

"My ancestors, 'the fathers', were always right; they made the law and constitution for the jungle, and they tolerated no interference in their business under the constitution and the established law and order of the jungle. They taught me to roar, 'To hell with sentiment', and to win in the struggle for existence by means of force and violence, with flesh and blood as my proper incentive. My tusks and claws and my *might* to smite give me the *right* to smite."

What, — to a profiteer, — are the hunger and humiliation of a dozen million unemployed and their pleading women and children?

What, — to a profiteer, — are millions of toil-bent, mortgaged farmers and their humbled wives?

Nothing! Nothing but human cattle to be yoked in his "business drive" for profits.

What, — to the silk-hatted profit-luster, — is an ignorant, lean and ragged girl-child twelve years old, bare-foot in the snow or hitched to a spinning machine?

Nothing! Nothing but a human *thing* to serve his lust for profits, by selling him her labor for less than it will produce.

As every one should know, under the profit system *Profit is god*. Profit is sacred. Labor is junk, — mere garbage when it is not profitable.

Therefore the decree of America's industrial masters has been through more than seven years (and is now), "Since these 30,000 million days of labor-life can not be used for profits, we are not interested in such labor, except that it *must not be used to produce plenty for everybody*. Away with it! Let it rot! We are rugged individualists, the big go-getters. Social sentiment and social service be damned! We business men serve and worship our own god, Profit, and when our god requires a sacrifice, we do not hesitate to make the sacrifice, — of other people's happiness and lives."

Thus declare the nation's master morons, chattering and cackling as they kneel before their slobbering god of profits, gorged and drooling with the blood and tears of the unemployed and their dear ones.

The full capacity use of the nation's useful labor has been brutally **prohibited**, year after year, not because it wasn't needed, not because it wouldn't serve social welfare, not because it was impracticable, — but simply because the full-capacity use of the nation's labor would be *unprofitable* for *part* of the people. In the last analysis this recent and present depression is simply arbitrary *obstruction of production*, which is *sabotage*, and *sabotage is kin to arson*.

Just as the World War was the huge and savage military sabotage of human welfare in the twentieth century, costing 400,000 million dollars," so this depression is the second vast sabotage that has cost the United States (already) 210 billions, half the cost of the World War, and has cost the world vastly more.

Huge and savage sabotage against social welfare!

Believe me, brethren, it takes brains and ability and patriotism and divine spiritual insight to realize that millions of the nation's citizens *should* be turned down year after year with "not wanted", that 75 million days' labor *should* be sacrificed each week, thrown away as garbage, like the decaying carcasses of dead horses, instead of being socially used to help produce plenty for everybody.

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"The 400 billion dollar estimate of the world cost of the World War has been accepted as reliably accurate by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University.

This is the profit system, damned by its own garbage pile of wasted labor, a 210,000 million-dollar garbage pile, climbing higher every hour. Can you smell it? Hideous exhibition! Proof that we now live under a dictatorship of ignorance and arrogance, strutting on the American stage in vulgar vanity.

After eight years of depression the United States, with one fifteenth of the world's population, still has one half the world's unemployed. And now daily upon this 210,000 million-dollar mountain of lost labor, from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 more days" of wasted labor is dumped to rot, treated as if it were festering, decaying garbage, simply because, and *only because*, this eager labor, ready for use in serving society, can not be used "in business" for profits.

Ah, my sensitive reader, you don't like that language, do you? Nor do I. But that language is lilting loveliness compared with that filthy thing, the profit system. We shall see. Nothing could be uglier, viler, nothing could be more rude, raw and cruel, nothing could be more monstrously unjust than the profit system, now more and more requiring the machine gun for its protection.

The *creed* of the profit system is:

The unprofitable is useless, regardless of human needs.

The *economic practice* of the profit system is:

Sabotage labor and sabotage national welfare, if they interfere with profits.

The *ethics* of the profit system is:

To hell with ripe bananas, and to hell with human labor if and when they are unprofitable.

Let every preacher under the Stars and Stripes take notice:

Under the profit system every one of the 12,500,000 unemployed could promptly get jobs, regular productive work, and sure shelter by becoming criminals.

"Any man can get a job." Sure he can if he will do one of two things:

1. Confess himself pauperized and let society put the social stamp upon his forehead, "P", meaning pauper, or

2. Steal an automobile or throw a brick through a large plate-glass window. In this case he can have a job, lodging, clothing, food, and also music, radio, movies, sermons, prayers and spiritual uplifts, — and no collection.

Once more: think it over.

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<sup>12</sup>The estimates are still about the same at the end of 1938.—F. H. K.

Henceforth, because of a permanent lack of normal market for what the unemployed could produce, vast unemployment will be permanent, inevitable and normal, while the profit system is tolerated by its victims.

"Industry has never supported all the workers (with jobs) and never can." Henry Ford, in a radio speech quoted by *The American Federationist*, Feb. 1936, p. 130.

In 1929, according to the Brookings Institute, after the huge personal spending by the plutes, there remained 15 billion dollars in savings; but the productive equipment was already so adequate to the market (even then) that only 5 billions could be invested in further machinery. Suppose the whole 15 billions had been invested in new equipment!

Industrial masters announced in 1935 that they were able and eager to put 80 billion dollars into new equipment for production. Of course such equipment would be the best possible, right up-to-the-minute methods and machinery, with which less labor than ever before would produce more goods than ever before, thrusting millions more into unemployment.

The Steel Trust in the year 1936 boastfully installed 160,000,000 dollars' worth of "new and better machinery". These improvements will result in the discharge of thousands of "no longer needed" men, and will make it still less practicable to operate the nation's steel plant full capacity and steadily.

Even if, presently, business should rally up to the 90,000 million dollar level, the total production can, with recently improved methods, tools and machinery, be accomplished now with 70% of the workers employed in 1929. Millions will still be unemployed; and as usual even the employed will live on less than plenty. Moreover, advanced prices in many lines will more than cancel any advances in per-hour wages. Thus again the workers will be stung under the profit system. And the total buying power of the workers as a whole will be a still smaller proportion of what they could produce after six years of progress since 1929. Stung again!

Moreover, with the nation's industry in control of those who reject and junk labor when it is not profitable, the grand total of unemployed (unused) labor, treated as garbage, will yet reach 50,000 million days, — aye, 100,000 million days, and more, before *this* depression ends.

We have reached the end of an era. We shall see.



For four reasons the mountain of labor as garbage will heave higher and higher in the coming years:

1. A new army of 50,000 youths reaches work age every thirty days.

2. The steady ruin of the middle class drives tens of thousands into the ranks of labor yearly.

3. There is a continued decline of our foreign market for products of American labor in increasingly self-sufficient countries.

4. Machinery and science rapidly multiply the workers' producing power, but not their wages and buying power.

Till the workers rise in their **united might**, Labor will rot as garbage. Think it through till you see clearly that the mountain of labor-as-garbage is *here to stay*, to pile higher and higher, till it finally "wakes the dead", — appeals to pride and reason, including yours.

If there are ten million grown-ups willing to work, out of work, too tame to demand unemployment pension, then let them starve in their leisure! But defend the children!

Your children are doomed before they are born, shackled for slavery while in their mothers' wombs, to be belittled through life and belittled even at their own funerals, in cheap shrouds, shabby coffins in humble graves with cheap stones. And your own sacred labor-life is thrown away as garbage, when not profitable for your "betters".

Have sense enough to hate that garbage pile where Labor rots!

Stand, Giant Labor, — stand by the garbage pile, tomb of toil, where 30,000 million days of sacred labor-life now rots, yet seems to scream and plead to be understood, — stand there, Giant Labor, and *think* till you clearly see that justice, real justice, is never a *favor*, and comes never for the asking.

Justice as a favor?

Ridiculous! Justice is seized. Justice crowns Labor for obedience to life's *first law*, self-preservation.

Obey that law; that is, *defend yourselves*, and seat yourselves at the banquet of plenty.

Obey that law or take the lash of toil and want; live lean, die poor, flattered, but always despised as a big, beefy, inferior Thing.

The leisure class has two first class virtues:

1. The leisure class has too much pride and common sense to be contented with less than plenty and of good quality; and

2. The leisure class is *loyal to its own class* in its united effort to *get plenty*, — always plenty, — for itself.

Therefore, ye slaves in the forests, fields and factories, get together *as a class*. Be guided by your common interests as a class.

Let us now study further the profit system as its hideous soul and body are exposed in the next chapter: *The Buzzards' Victory*.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BUZZARDS' VICTORY

#### MORE SABOTAGE DE LUXE

Malicious destruction or obstruction of production is sabotage.

"Rheumatic heart disease . . . leaves its victims heart-crippled invalids in early man-or-womanhood. It fastens on most of its victims early in their lives." Dr. Alvin Coburn studying the family history of 3000 rheumatic folks, found . . . they had one thing in common:—they were nearly all poor people. It "was twenty times as prevalent in the poor people's Presbyterian Hospital as it was in the private pavilion where the rich children are cared for." Paul de Kruif: *Why Keep Them Alive?* Chapter, Who Owns Our Science? Published by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

#### THE GOD OF THE PROFIT SYSTEM

Cheer up, reader. In this chapter we shall see God and study the new plan of salvation, — salvation from the industrial damnation of Success in Production. (Please reread definition of Success in Production, p. 69.)

No! not God, but the god of the twentieth century in the United States. This god reveals himself in the flapping wings of filthy happy buzzards banqueting on lamb chops, beefsteaks, ham and bacon, while millions of honest men and women and their children are starved, or near-starved, through long, long years: "Not wanted!" The introduction of buzzards into social planning" by brilliant business men and statesmen is a matchless masterpiece of "social thinking". The grinning skulls, the mouldy skeletons of cruel Pharoah, brutal Caesar and heartless Napoleon chatter and rattle.

It may be that "God made man". But it is surely historic fact that man makes God, — dreams and boldly molds, a god with character to fit and protect the dominant way of life, in getting a living. We shall see.

Cannibals invented a cannibal god to whom cannibalism was entirely satisfactory and very good, a "divine institution". Slave-holders for thousands of years invented, conceived, a slave god, to whom slavery was entirely satisfactory, very good, a "divine institution". Feudal lords of serfdom also invented, conceived, a god to whom serfdom was acceptable, quite satisfactory, a "divine institution".

The modern profiteers, fattened, cunning looters of the modern multitude of toilers, invented, conceived, and adopted a god to whom *the profit system is acceptable* and "very good", a "divine institution", acceptable even with its thousand cruelties, including deliberate artificial scarcity, no matter what that scarcity costs in ruined health and strength of millions of hungry, miserable wretches in jungles, tenements, hovels and cheerless homes; no matter what that scarcity costs in tears and broken hearts; no matter what it costs to broken mothers forced to offer wilted breasts to pale, weak-lipped sucklings, while buzzards feast on lamb chops.

Business and industry, under the spell of this 20th century Beast, coldly refuse to render industrial social service except as a form of worship of this god Profit, a beast that spiritually is as cold and hard as the brainless bull carved out of soulless stone, that was worshipped in the empty centuries of the crude and gloomy long ago.

This sacred Profit Beast bawls out its scorn for human need, bellows its contempt for national industrial fellowship, snorts in the face of Christ at His "sentimental nonsense" of social service, has only an ignorant grunt for Christ's loyalty to the lowly and His prompt and sometimes fiery defense of the rights of children. We shall see that this god forces this Christian nation to its knees, compels citizens, good and bad, old and young, to kiss the filthy hoof of the stinking beast, compels them to lick it and like it, and piously roll their eyes and proudly call this social sterility "good old Americanism", the "American way", the "practical business-like way" to do things.

This god now requires social planning which compels millions of thoroughly good citizens to do cruelly crazy things, and forces all of us, including little children, to submit to the results of the imbecile plan and imbecile practices. The economically orthodox "social planners" now do all their social planning as directed by this 20th century god. We shall see.

TO HELL WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE'S NEED OF PLENTY!

You don't like that crude and brutal heading, do you? Of course not. Neither do I. But that crude and brutal phrase expresses clearly and accurately the lust for profits as the god of the profit system. Production for profits is a coldblooded, barbarous business, — a deadly poison for fraternal feeling and lofty social ideals.

Now for the facts that reveal the stony soul of America's brass bull god Profit, and facts also that show forth the heart of the new plan of salvation.

First, we shall see that this rude, coarse god compels California to destroy mountains of food, pour out on the ground the equivalent of millions of gallons of nourishing milk of the earth, a sacrificial libation to the blind brass god, and do much other hateful violence against human need, while tens of thousands of her own children are pale and skinny.

The grapes destroyed in this one state, in one season (1930) exceeded by 100,000 tons the entire grape crop of the United States outside of California. Right before the eyes of California's "great business engineer"!

Vast quantities of oranges have been picked in California, piled high and wide in long, golden windrows, and then fouled with kerosene to make them burnable, or to render them unusable. This sabotage has kept poor devils from using these oranges, and has also promoted scarcity in the market, and thus kept up the price and *profit*, which is *god*, or the main thing.

But what about the general need of oranges, and the famous high-vitamin value of the fruit?

Come, come, don't be foolish enough to be rational, to ask sane questions. The profit system compels imbecility and cruelty.

Imagine Christ, the carpenter, who had no place to lay his head! hungry, in need of some nourishing fruit, standing by a huge rick of beautiful Sunkist oranges, deliberately rendered uneatable, stinking with kerosene!

This destruction of high grade food is (as we shall see) only a sample of *increasing* wholesale **sabotage de luxe against human need**.

Of course you know that grape juice, like Grade A cow's milk, paints children's cheeks rosy red with health, builds vigor into their flesh, blood and bones. You also have observed that peaches swimming in fresh cream are delicious food, enjoyed by everybody who can afford them.

Well, in 1931, *before* the New Ordeal began, while Mr. Hoover, the "great engineer", was President, California alone, Mr. Hoover's own state, deliberately destroyed or permitted to rot, 400,000 tons, 800,000,000 pounds, of grapes, a quantity sufficient to make over 130,000 three-ton truck loads, stretching in procession over 2500 miles from San Francisco to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a procession requiring seven days to pass a given point.

As a supplementary food, grape juice is pronounced excellent by the Federal Department of Agriculture. Like raisins, grape juice is rich in iron, and is, as it were, nourishing milk from the breast of Mother Earth. The 400,000 tons of grapes

destroyed (in one season in one state) would have provided a half-pint drink of this nourishing food daily for 200 days for 5,000,000 children.

Here is an a-b-c Business Problem. (Try this problem on a high school freshman.)

This is a problem that simply stumps the industrial brains of the nation; a high school freshman should be able to give a sensible solution in two minutes. Here it is:

(a) 800,000,000 pounds of high grade food.

(b) Millions of citizens, let us say 5,000,000 children, sincerely needing this excellent food.

(c) Problem: What to do? Plainly here is a problem of what to do with abundance.

On such a problem how do business men think? Take an up-to-date group of business boosters, a "go-getter" chamber of commerce, — how do they think?

On their knees in blind worship of the 20th century god of business, struck dumb, spiritually paralyzed by the Beast they worship, business men (personally good fellows) reason as follows (and they must reason as follows) *under the profit system*:

"We recognize Profits as *properly our dominant motive* in business, the one and only true god worshipped by practical business men. Social service and the Golden Rule are bunk. No profits, — no service. What's that about children's right to plenty of the best the earth affords? Let the children have these 500,000,000 pints of delicious food? Now, don't waste the time of this chamber of commerce, talking sentimental nonsense. If this food for children is not profitable it is useless in business, far less significant than the same amount of swill for hogs. The swill would fatten the hogs and mean profits, but the grape juice for children would yield no profits. Since there is no net profit in this 800,000,000 pounds of food, we declare it to be a surplus.

"A really good food? Yes.

"A nourishing food for children? Yes.

"Vastly useful? Yes.

"But profitable? No.

"Well that settles the whole question. Let the crows have the grapes. Let the children suck their fingers."

Thus, kissing the eyes and licking the snout of the big brass bull of the 20th century, — thus do proud chambers of commerce "reason" on a perfectly simple problem of what to do with plenty; thus do they justify their social-spiritual insanity,

under the profit system. Eight hundred million pounds of food, — a perfectly businesslike sacrificial offering to the Beast whose cold gaze slowly freezes society's soul, blasts brotherhood, shrivels the thoughts of social service, and makes proud business men crawl on their bellies to its feet in blind worship, mumbling, "In thee we trust. Business is business."

Industry is thus rendered brutal by the brutal god Profit.

Since the destruction of that 400,000 tons of grapes in 1931, hundreds of thousands of tons, a total far above two thousand million pounds of grapes have been destroyed in California, or permitted to rot on the vines, or prevented by restricted planting, or by *actual wrecking of vineyards*. A u-shaped steel devil has been invented and used in California for destroying vineyards by cutting off the roots deep below the surface and ripping out the vine, root and branch, *ready for the flames*, to help in producing scarcity, and thus better prices, — and profits.

In 1931, the California Cannery League decided to purchase and destroy 144,000 tons of cling peaches at \$12 per ton, and pay for uprooting 12,000 acres of peach trees at \$2.50 per tree. More than 1,300,000 smiling, blushing peach trees, good for fifteen or twenty years of social service, were chopped down or torn from the earth, piled high, and deliberately set on fire, as a beautiful burnt offering unto the brass bull, the lord god, Profit, to prevent abundance; that is, to create scarcity for years to come, and thus boost prices, — and profits.

When in 1932 (with the Republican Party in power in Washington, and in California) it was realized that the peach crop in California would reach 17,000,000 cases, the peach "pack" was arbitrarily "slashed" by 8,000,000 cases, or 192,000,000 cans, amounting to a 46% destruction of the crop. (Right under the eagle eye of the engineer-planner, President Hoover!)

For further data on extent of recent arbitrary destruction and reduction of crops, fruit trees, and so forth, see *American Year Book*, 1931, 1932, 1933.

And mark carefully, all this industrial anarchy is "according to law".

Producers of oranges, grapes, peaches, figs, and many other California products, are praised for this sabotage, praised for this diabolical destruction of the means for rendering social service, for this vast social crime. This is indeed sabotage de luxe.

An orange grove, or vineyard, or peach orchard, abandoned and left to shrivel and slowly die, while plenty of water is available, or a grove or orchard being "snaked" (jerked from the earth) by means of a powerful tractor and rope of steel, — this when the nation needs *more* fruit, — is a sickening sight, and symbolizes its spiritual barrenness and paralysis; symbolizes the relentless social glacier that now bears down upon society, slowly freezing the nation into social impotence,— rendering it incapable of conceiving *social* plans with *social* motive for the nation's industry. The steel chain, hitched to a beautiful fruit tree, ready to "snake" it from the bosom of the willing earth, — this chain seems also to be hitched to the heart of the nation, growing blind, deaf, dumb to the thought of national social service, to be rendered proudly, beautifully, triumphantly.

Let us here note how desperate, how hunger-poor Americans are. Since the destruction of the grapes in 1931 and the "slashing of the pack" of peaches in 1932 (in California) amounted to an average of much less than two cans of peaches and about two thirds of a basket of grapes for every person in the United States, and since most people relish peaches, grapes and grape juice, it is obvious that scores of millions of our people were simply too poor to buy two or three extra cans of peaches, an extra basket of grapes, or two or three bottles of grape juice, though undernourished and desperate.

But what's the difference? Blessed be the lord god, Profit, served by arson, worshipped by fire, with good things for fuel, as many other gods in history have been served with "burnt offerings making a sweet savor unto the Lord."

The application of fire, force and violence to thousands of acres of vineyards and orchards seems so thoughtful, so brilliant as statesmanship, don't you know? Economically this is perfectly orthodox, — great engineering, if done to prevent abundance (which is unprofitable).

Nature, brainless, soulless nature, sometimes cooperates with her imbecility in producing *profitable scarcity*. For example, on January 11, 1937, the *Los Angeles Times*, reporting the damage done by two nights of fruit-wrecking temperature, said, "They (the California citrus growers) pointed out that even if some oranges and lemons have been harmed, the growers will be more than compensated for the loss by the higher prices the fruit will bring on the market." And, of course, the citrus growers of Texas and Florida, worshipping the brass god, will be prayerfully and profitably grateful for Mother Nature's good



work in California. Hurrah for the dust storm! Hurrah for the San Jose scale!

Of course the heaviest grape crop ever known in California could be vastly multiplied in the form of grapes, grape juice, wine and raisins. The production of beef, mutton, wool, cotton, fruits and vegetables could be vastly increased, and in a socially sane society this would be done. Instead of ripping out and burning thousands of acres of fruit trees, we would, under a system of production for use, and plenty to use, be expanding our whole production plant, to help serve society with abundance of good things. Every year thousands of trainloads and shiploads of good things could pour out of the state, as a beautiful national social service, just such as tens of thousands of wholesome California citizens would gladly render.

Well, what of it? What does business know of plans for loyal social service, industrial plans to serve human needs to the limit made possible by a nation's resources? What chamber of commerce "cares a damn" whether the children's cheeks are rosy or pale?

What's the use! Under the profit system! The god of the twentieth century, the brass Beast, bellows No!

Okey! California speaking! telling the world *what to do* with abundance, — how to be saved from the pest of plenty.

But California has plenty of company in this social bungling in the name of business. For years this anti-social management of industry has been common in all parts of the country. Here a few illustrations:

Some time ago, 250,000 baskets of peaches were permitted to rot in one small district in Washington. In many parts of the country in autumn the ground under tens of thousands of trees is red, or yellow as gold, with lovely apples left to rot unused in obedience to the god. The finest pears on earth grow in the Medford, Oregon, district, where the ghosts of many dead pear trees now haunt a vast fruit region. In a wide district in Michigan thousands of cherry trees are each year beautiful with fruit, not picked but left to rot. Carloads of bananas en route to northern markets, on reaching the Cairo, Illinois district, are dumped onto the right of way or into the river to rot, if plenty threatens the market. Potatoes by the carload arriving at many a terminal have been left unloaded and deliberately permitted to freeze.

All this to keep up the price and profits, by keeping down the supply of needed food: mountains of rotting food products as a stinking offering to a stinking god, Profit.

Sick of the disgraceful story of "good old American" business statesmanship, are you? Well, cheer up; the worst is yet to come.

One more touchingly beautiful California illustration of social and spiritual results of the profit system:

Potatoes by the carload have in recent years been dumped into the Sacramento River to rot. And when half-starved unemployed men and youths attempted to salvage from the water a few pecks of potatoes to cook in the "Hooverville" jungle, they were driven off by armed men (legally) as if they were hogs or wild dogs. Which shows us what "practical" men, "best minds", can do when running in high gear.

This reminds us of far-away Brazil, where the Christian government takes full charge of salvation by sabotage. More than 27,000,000 bags of coffee (132 lbs. per bag) have been destroyed in a single season; and "government planning" included the destruction of 300 million coffee trees, and a systematic effort of its Department of Agriculture to reduce the production of butter and milk. Much "excess" coffee not burnt has in recent years been thrown into the sea, and sometimes this coffee has been washed back upon the shore, where the desperate poor tried to salvage some of the wet coffee. But the poor devils have been driven off with force and violence, and the coffee gathered up and carried far out to sea and dumped again, far enough from shore to prevent its return by the waves and its use by the common people. From June, 1931 to 1934 only 33% of the crop was admitted to market. The planting of coffee trees was prohibited. All this savage sabotage to produce scarcity, higher prices, and profits.\*

Now back to our own fair land, devoted to our own god.

This vast, loathesome god must be further exposed, — unmasked if possible, — if possible!

The vast insane sacrifice recited in the preceding parts of this chapter, is but a beginning of this sordid story of a country becoming socially sterile as an iceberg in the presence of the supreme social problem:

What to do about abundance.

In this solemn hour of unparalleled crisis, with our nation's life hanging in the balance, threatened as no nation in all time was ever threatened before by this new demon of Plenty for Everybody, what philosophy shall save us?

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\**The World Tomorrow*, Sept. 26, 1934; also *The National Taxeaters*, p. 340, by T. S. Harding.

Well, in this hour of black despair this is clear: whatever we do, and in all we do, we must place our trust in God, our own god; and therefore we must make our plans according to the following principles:

First Principle: Abundance for *all* is unnecessary because the "common people" don't need plenty. Moreover, being meek and lowly, they are to be "richly rewarded in Heaven" (after we get through with them here.)

Second Principle: Abundance for all is absurd because the common people are only working people.

Third Principle: Abundance for all is immoral because, under the profit system, Profit is God. As business men we must, of course, obey our god.

Fourth Principle: Abundance for all is economic atheism and wildly godless, because abundance destroys our god's throne, which is the profit system.

Fifth Principle: Abundance for all is unstatesmanlike and unthinkable; since abundance, health, happiness, culture and decent leisure for a hundred million Americans, — all these things are not *sufficient incentive* for us, the loyal worshipers of the god of business, (Sublime confession!)

Sixth Principle: Abundance for all is very dangerous, because if the common people were permitted to have abundance even for a single year they would get the habit. They would enjoy abundance and demand abundance. And finally (most important of all)—

Seventh Principle: Abundance for all is unprofitable. In obedience to our god we must push profits up for us, and for that reason we must push rewards down for the workers. Thus the workers do not have, they can not have, they never, never shall have plenty to buy plenty.

And by God, our god, these principles must guide and control business and statesmen in this great crisis.

In strict harmony with these principles, arson, force and violence, wholesale sabotage, from ocean to ocean, against abundance, — all this is stamped OK by the United States Government in the service of the nation's dominant god, Profit, the god now triumphant over five-sixths of the earth, wherever production for profit is the law of industry.

Consider the hideous situation: a mighty republic of vast wealth spiritually incompetent to give a socially sane answer to the question, — Is plenty too much for the plain people? Save for some truly glorious exceptions, silence, hideous, sickening silence, reigns among the mighty from sea to sea, on abundance

for the wretched multitude; — a civilized country bewildered and dumfounded by the “embarrassment” of abundance ready for all, whining, yelping, yawping a national howl of moronic despair:

“Help! Help! Help! That vile thing, Abundance, looms ever higher, daring the common herd to dream of plenty for themselves. Intolerable situation! Unprofitable and dangerous! A national threat! The flag, the constitution, the country, —all, all in danger, because of this pest and curse, Plenty for Everybody! It’s a crisis. That’s what it is. Prices are slipping. Profits will vanish, Ruin! Get going! Move faster! Heaven give us wills of steel for this dark hour! We’ve succeeded; therefore we’re failing! What shall we do?”

“Oh yes, plans, of course. Call the thinkers, the ‘best minds’; they know. Ha, here they come, with their brains steaming. Watch ’em work! Bless their noble souls, they have thought it all out, — a plan for protection against the disaster of success, simply by preventing or destroying huge quantities of the success. Flash of engineering genius! — send for the buzzards, wolves, flies and maggots to consume the ‘surplus’ porterhouse steak and mutton chops.”

Now if you are not an eminent economist and thus do not know everything, please, for the next half dozen pages, read slowly, and think fast, and ponder long the full meaning of the stinging, crowning insult and outrage of all time, boldly, brutally flung into the faces of the American common people by the Federal Government and Big Business: the theory and practice of artificial scarcity.

Let us at least try further to understand “what’s wrong.” Before we look at our national government’s crowning crime running through the recent years, let us, for a moment, study the theory, the philosophy, that backs up the criminals.

In explaining its defiance of simple justice, in excusing its cold, raw scorn for the humble people’s needs, in boldly defending its immortal brutality, our country’s Profit Dictatorship has for years “reasoned” and announced (in substance) as follows:

“Our general national situation is new and desperate: there is too much to eat, too much to wear, too much to enjoy; there is amazing danger of abundance for all. Abundance for all shrinks prices and destroys profits. Scarcity, beautiful scarcity, boosts prices and profits (for the masters of industry). Therefore avoid, hinder, prohibit, cut, slash, burn, waste, wreck, slaughter, destroy. Bribe, stall, sidestep. Kill, kill, kill! In the name of God!”

This announcement we find (in substance) on the first page of the first chapter of the "Gospel of Business," as the will and word of the god, Profit, as revealed to his loyal servants and devotees, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Association of Manufacturers.

Scarcity? Scarcity for the sake of profits? Why certainly! You see, in the judgment of the "best brains," the "eminent economists," "brilliant business men," "mighty statesmen," and sobbiest uplifters of the poor, — in the judgment of all these, scarcity, no matter what it costs in shriveled lives, is a sound, sane and scientific foundation for a state, and for a statesman's guidance in social planning.

Certainly. Under a system of production for profits, of course Abundance for All *must* be avoided, prohibited, or destroyed, because Abundance wrecks profits (though it would fill life with happiness and security). Under this system, Abundance for all is a mocking nuisance and a national menace, and our national government advises, urges, compels and pays for scarcity.

Now, reader, however vicious and ridiculous this reasoning and these principles may seem to be, they are, nevertheless, the essence of the defense of the system of production for profits; and these principles guide and dominate the planners, — all planners who accept and defend production for profits for some people, instead of plenty for all the people.

As you reflect on the preceding pages of this chapter, and proceed with the story, keep in mind the following question: *What does the nation's culture think of this plan of salvation?*

What do the nation's college and university presidents say, — what do the professors say, — what does the National Education Association say, — what does the united religious leadership say, — what do all these trained, studious, far-seeing, wide-awake leaders say about this protection against abundance by means of destruction? Have they yet put forth for all to read, a splendid message of hot contempt for this bungling? Have they issued a smashing condemnation of this stupid, brutal statesmanship? Far more important, what do these leaders say about the principle and practice of the profit system: always a reward to the workers of less than plenty, regardless of any and all technological progress?

Academic leaders know that this profit system compels millions of social-minded, perfectly wholesome men and women to take the orders of the nation's industrial leadership, to produce artificial scarcity of things needed. Rational, national planning

of abundance for all is impossible under the profit system. Doesn't it seem that leaders in culture should lead, or help lead, the nation from this slough of social lunacy into the highway of industrial social sanity, — or surrender their titles to leadership?

Methinks I hear from a certain type of trained defenders of the brass god, an intoned whine: "Spiritual things should engage us, first of all; the body is but clay, ever passing into worthless dust."

Well, lest we forget: It is in the record that Christ "*knew man* and needed not that any one should testify of him." And this wise Christ, founder of Christianity, "friend of man," defender of the lowly, even performed miracles to provide food for the *bodies* of hungry wretches he wished to address on "spiritual things," and thus fed their "temples of worldly clay" *before* he talked to them of "things not of this world."

In the preceding pages of this chapter I have drawn chiefly upon one state for illustrations of the masterly futility and brilliant imbecility of planning and plotting against the production of abundance. We come now to the operation of this plan of industrial salvation on a national scale, directed from the national capital in a big way by big men.

## WISDOM

### LESS THAN PLENTY SHOULD BE CONSUMED BECAUSE

#### THERE IS PLENTY TO BE CONSUMED

THE "GREAT ENGINEER"  
(The Old Ordeal, 1931)

Plow under every third row of cotton, raise fewer sheep and, in California alone, in one season, uproot and burn peach trees (12,000 acres), and destroy 800,000,000 pounds of grapes.

The "common herd" dress too well and they eat too much fruit.

THE "SAVIOR OF THE  
FORGOTTEN MAN"

(The New Ordeal, 1934)

Kill a million cows, five million young hogs and a million sheep, and pay farmers \$500,000,000 to produce less cotton, wool, pork, mutton, beef, grain, etc.

Men and women of the "common herd" are eating too much ham and porterhouse, and are dressing too well, and their children are drinking too much Grade A milk.

(This policy and practice of destruction and prevention of plenty is no more Democratic than it is Republican. It is capitalist.)

## SALVATION THROUGH SABOTAGE

Now I shall present some American national crimes against Abundance, crimes admittedly committed to "protect the country against utter collapse," which admission is confession that our country now rests on ruin, the ruin and wreck of Abundance.

Increasingly worried, puzzled and confused by the *increasing* curse of *increasing* abundance, statesmen seize the megaphone, postal service, press, platform and radio, and under the hideous compulsion of the country's god, call forth warnings to a bewildered and heart-broken people, guilty of producing too many good things, — telling the guilty devils what to do to be saved from abundance.

The first illustration is, as it were, a flash of lightning from a Jovian brain, to show the world the way to salvation, an immortal contribution direct from the "head and brain" of the Republican Party. Before the nation's footlight Mr. Herbert Hoover, engineer, announces: *Salvation by interstate destruction*. It was this force-and-violence man who, unrebuked by the Republican national legislature, threatened scarred and beggared ex-soldiers with machine guns, and proudly sniffed the smoke from their tattered tents, officially set afire for daring to show their appealing rags and scars, and their ill-fed wives, and helpless sucklings in the nation's capital, — for daring to beg for the promised petty, over-due pay for "following the flag" through hell. It was this "eminent engineer" who (with his usual social-engineering ignorance and arrogance), he it was who first urged: "Plow under every third row of our country's cotton."

On August 12, 1931, Chairman Stone of the Federal Farm Bureau (guided and ordered by President Hoover) *telegraphed* the governors of fourteen cotton-producing states, urging for their cooperation in getting the assent of cotton-growers to "plow under every third row" of ten million acres of blooming, smiling cotton.

Hundreds of thousands of the men and boys who "plowed under every third row" were (like millions of others, including their own mothers and sisters) dressed in shabby shoddy, and hadn't even one extra ten-dollar cotton suit or gown; and many millions of American workmen did not possess even a half dozen cotton shirts. Likewise, twenty million American homes

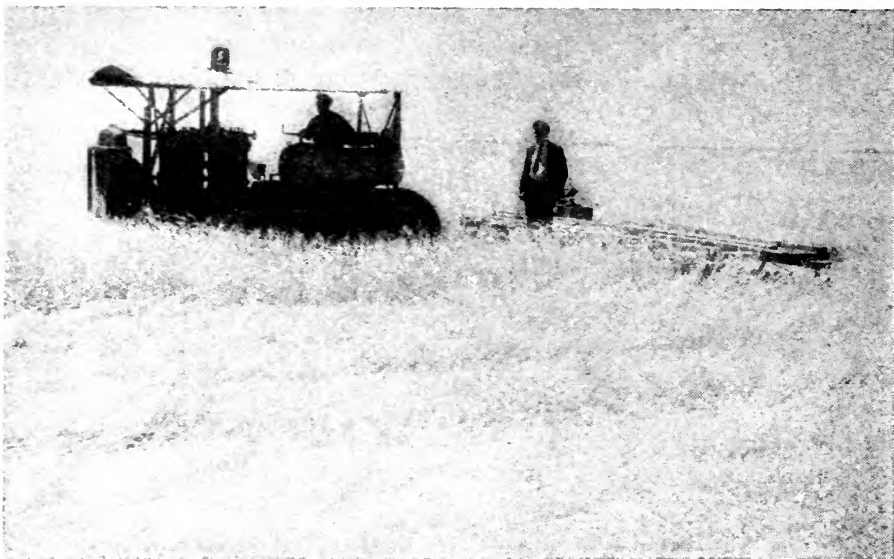
were not outfitted with plenty of 100-inch high-grade cotton sheets. Also a gay-colored little cotton tent would give wholesome delight and health to every one of the millions of little maids eager to romp and "play house" in the fresh air. Don't you think so?

In 1933 (under the New Deal President) the Federal Government paid \$100,000,000 to planters to plow under cotton.

Well, well! Delivered from disaster by destruction! Wonderful! What a simple plan of salvation! Only a "best mind" could have thought it all out!

Further orders:

Take fifteen hundred million dollars from the nation's treasury and *bribe* the farmers to destroy more, and to produce less: — less wheat, less corn, less oats, less rice, less sugar, less potatoes, less fruit, less cotton, less wool.



Photograph taken in summer of 1934, fifteen miles from Stockton, California.

Planted and developed—1200 acres of wheat—a splendid crop. Destroyed by order of the Federal Government 80 acres just previous to harvesting time.

Kill a million cows to prevent "over-production" and thus keep plenty of veal, juicy steaks, butter, cheese and cream from the clutches of the plain people. This order has snatched hundreds of quarts of milk from the lips of palefaced babes and little lads and lasses of the working class.

Kill six million young hogs; bury them; grind them into



fertilizer; throw them into the river to the fish; pile them up for a feast for the flies and buzzards. Kill a million sows soon to farrow, throw them likewise to the crows and buzzards, and thus prevent many more millions of pigs from being born, and thus in two years keep 1800 million pounds of pork off the market. This masterpiece of spiritual moronism, ordering, bribing farmers to furnish vast feasts for filthy flies, slimy maggots and loathesome buzzards, has kept this splendid plenty of ham and bacon from the tables of the toilers. All in obedience to our national god, Profit.



This is a photograph of 5000 sheep in one pile left to rot in September, 1934, near Pitchfork, Wyoming.

"The government bought sheep, skinned them, but no effort was made to save the meat." *Farming for a Famine* by E. P. Prentice.

A concrete illustration of this plan of salvation:

A farmer near Fresno, California, had a large drove of hogs which the Federal Government would not permit him to sell. Being a decent, finely sympathetic man, this farmer telegraphed to the government at Washington, requesting permission to *give* the hogs to hungry and desperate unemployed in the community. The Federal Government replied by telegram refusing permission to give the hogs to the hungry men, women and children, and ordered the farmer to *kill and bury* the hogs, —ordered him to give the fine, fresh pork to the grave worms instead of to hungry human beings.

"Safety first" against over-eating is the plan of the well-fed for the under-fed.

Here is a summary of animals destroyed during the New Deal up to 1936:

Hogs.....	6,410,866
Cattle.....	1,307,612
Sheep.....	2,191,069
Goats.....	248,347

Thus our national government, charged with the duty of defending the profit system and thus prolonging the life of the great god, Profit, has poured out billions of our money as bribes, not to produce plenty, but to prevent and destroy plenty.

And it's all right under our national constitution, our flag, and our Supreme Court. In fact, our Federal Government **subsidizes sabotage.**

The buzzards win.

We must, of course, here understand that these nationally legitimated, officially managed crimes against the hungry "common herd," — that all this wholesale wrecking of food and clothing material, is "for the good of the nation." The government's affectionate care of the Mutts and Jeffs who are "only working people," is touchingly tender, and at the same time "nationally helpful."

Moreover, the profit system is an *American institution*, and therefore must be protected by those who take office to protect this nation's laws and institutions, whether those elected officials be Republicans or Democratic, good or bad, harsh or generous.

Further orders (by consent) :

Slash down, rip out, millions of fruit trees. Let billions of pounds of fruits rot unused in the orchards. By all means and any means, foul, silly and savage, keep the supply of fruit *below the level of plenty*, always less than plenty in the homes of the "common herd."

On with the brilliant social planning, the brilliant head work, in the name of our true god, Profit!

Further orders:

Destroy! Destroy machinery by letting it rot unused. The Federal Government has urgently suggested to the states, counties and cities to have work done, not with the best tools, the best machinery and the best methods, but with wheel-barrow, pick-and-shovel hand tools and methods, so that the workers would have to **work longer and produce less!** and thus plan work, not to permit the unemployed to help produce plenty, but sim-

ply to "make work" that makes nothing, and thus chloroform the desperate into dull, dumb gratitude for "jobs".

Across the street from my home near Los Angeles, I have seen six men hitched to a plow in a "community garden," serving thus day after day in place of oxen, mules or a modern tractor, with which one man could have done the job in two hours. In this manner these men were forced to slip back a thousand years into the middle ages, to "help" them with "relief" by producing as slowly and as little as possible.

So it runs on year after year.

Further orders from city and state governments and big business:

Destroy! Kill ambition. With the lash of poverty whip millions of the children of the poor away from the schoolhouse door; and with the same stinging lash whip millions more out of school before their time. Dismiss, overload and reduce the pay of hundreds of thousands of teachers. Squelch them as "dangerous radicals" and "dirty reds" if they dare complain, or organize, or try to explain the profit system, or urge that plenty is not too much for the plain people. Close thousands of schools, reduce the school year for millions of children, and slash the course of study everywhere, in the richest country on earth!

In 1934-1935, 2400 public schools in eighteen states closed; and 14,000 more schools would have been closed had teachers received cash salaries; 31,672 school districts in twenty-four states shortened the school year. From 1930 to 1935 there was an increase of about 1,000,000 pupils, but the teaching force was decreased by 30,000 teachers; 1,400,000 pupils have recently been housed in condemned buildings, and 1,000,000 have been housed in "abandoned structures" and tents. We still have 150,000 single-room, little red school houses.\*

Two thousand youths, gloriously thirsty for education, at the Ohio State University, in the year 1936-1937, built desolate pigeon-hole shelters for themselves under the University Stadium, while the great Chamber of Commerce let the labor of thousands of carpenters waste away unused. Thus do the great State Government of Ohio and her "big" business men, smitten dumb and blind by the god they worship, belittle two thousand of the state's choicest youths, and sabotage the tradesmen who would gladly have built lovely homes for these splendid young men.

The technological problem of production is now a solved problem. (This is becoming known to business people.)

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\*See magazine, *The Fight*, March, 1936.

The social problem of distribution is an unsolved problem and now begins to be studied as it was never studied before by increasing millions of the common people. Already many of them have caught sight of the devil that lurks in the industrial system of profits for part of the people, instead of production for use for all the people.

Hence the flashing lightning of criticism, and the splendid thunder of protest, — the rumbling of the coming revolution; that is, the effective demand, not simply for the right of all of us to stay alive, but for the right of all of us to fill our lives with plenty.

### A SHOT IN THE NOODLE

The growing threatening thunder and lightning of intelligent discontent from ocean to ocean now creates alarm in the councils of the masters. Labor rouses to think this thing through.

"Save us from the herd, the working class who now begin to dream of abundance, even for themselves!!" This in substance and in secret is the prayer of those whose real worship is the god of brass. Therefore the general order is spread everywhere: Give the Giant Labor a "shot" of noodle-piffle on over-production. This is the twentieth century insult from the "captains of industry," the so-called "big" men:

"There must be unemployment, part-time employment, reduction of wages, higher prices, and thus through the reduction of purchasing power, there must be *reduced consumption because there is over-production.*"

In other words, less must be consumed because there is too much to be consumed.

Be patient. If you are hungry or seedy or meanly housed, or mortgaged, you can bear it better if you will breathe deeply, drink plenty of water, go to Sunday School, and take daily sips of the vinegar, — like this:

*Under-consumption of goods is due to over-production of goods to be consumed.*

Unanimously the federated wreckers of the workers' welfare explain the depression by chattering about over-production. But unanimously the awakened workers claim there is no such thing as over-production while millions are not permitted to consume abundantly. The problem called "over-production" would vanish, and the masters know it would vanish, if the workers were rewarded with plenty to buy plenty of the plenty.

Over-production of food! when at least 35,000,000 workers, not to mention the children, don't get a large, inch-thick

porterhouse steak three times a year! Why is the American farmers' intelligence insulted with the squawk of "over-production" when even in 1929 the American people, for a "fair and proper standard" of dietary requirements needed, in addition to what they got:

27 billion pounds of milk and cream,  
2 billion pounds of butter,  
7 billion pounds of vegetables,  
20 billion pounds of fresh fruit,  
3 billion pounds of citrus fruit,  
2 billion pounds of beef,  
13 billion eggs,  
2 billion chickens.\*

In 1929 we produced one fourth of all the hogs in the world; yet millions had no ham and bacon.

"In hard times much greater economy is practiced in utilizing meats and especially their fats. The yield of grease from garbage . . . is said to afford a fair index of the state of unemployment." *Hoover Com. on Recent Economic Changes*, Ch. 1, p. 33.

#### OVER-PRODUCTION OF GOOD CLOTHING!

Don't you think that each and every American could make good use of at least \$25 worth of cozy, light-weight, high-grade woolen clothing in a year? That is, if he tried hard? Would that be wild and wicked over-consumption?

Well in 1927 (a prosperous year indeed) the American people consumed barely \$5.25 worth of woolen and worsted of all grades per person. Yet our woolen manufacturing capacity was more than 2½ times that per person, and could quickly and easily be raised to ten times that, and the farmer wool-growers and the spinners, weavers, tailors and dressmakers were able, willing, eager to produce plenty of lovely woolen clothing for you and me in 1927, and they are today too. According to the Wool Institute Report, the capacity of our woolen industry is three times the actual output. The National Special Commission of Textile Mfrs. reported their equipment would "care for more than twice the normal consumption requirements."

But what's the use? You couldn't buy the nice woolen clothing, and the farmer couldn't sell the lovely wool, because you had all been dividing up too freely with the profit-takers. See?

In 1934 the average production of wool in the United States

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\**Why Keep them Alive?* by Paul de Kruif, and *Circular 296* of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Nov., 1933.

was less than half that of 1927, — less than 2½ lbs. per person.

Restriction kept 7,000,000 bales of cotton off the market in the year expiring July 31, 1932, while the producers and their families were in rags!

Millions of little children must shiver in winter because there is too much wool and cotton, too much woollen and cotton cloth in warehouses and too much wonderful machinery for producing beautiful clothing in abundance to keep children warm.

### OVER-PRODUCTION OF HOUSES!

According to conservative estimates, two thirds of all American families are inadequately, if not indecently housed. The editors of *Fortune* report that '90% of farm houses, 80% of village houses and 35% of town houses are beyond the pale for lack of a sanitary toilet within the house, and almost as many for lack of running water; many others are inadequate for lack of air and light (probably a third of those in large cities); many are inadequate on account of over-crowding, toilets in common, dampness, etc.; the total is about half the houses of the country.'

The government can build for \$2500 what now costs \$7000.

We need now in the United States:

20,000,000 scientific, labor-saving, good-looking modern kitchen equipments,

20,000,000 commodious modern bathrooms,

20,000,000 new or rebuilt homes,

20,000,000 home-heating equipments, and we need them installed.

### WHAT ABOUT HEALTH?

In 1930, we needed:

Physicians.....	174,000, but we had only 144,000
Dentists.....	219,000, but we had only 68,000
Nurses (visiting).....	54,000, but we had only 19,000
Nurses (hospital and home)	216,000, but we had only 118,000
Hospital beds.....	1,422,000, but we had only 956,000

The Federal Bureau of Home Economics has declared that even in 1929 production would have had to be 75% higher than 90 billions in order to provide "a reasonable standard of living for every family in the United States." Yet the nation's income in that year was slashed from 90 billions to 45 billions, and for eight years has been from 30 to 45 billions less than in 1929. Even a decent standard not permitted. Stung!

## SABOTAGE FOR PROFITS HERE TO STAY!

Occasionally, only occasionally, sabotage is practiced by a few workers, and is promptly, loudly condemned as outrageous by statesmen, business men, editors, ministers, and educators. But precisely this crime of sabotage has become the *national policy and practice* by business and by state and federal governments serving business for profits. Worshiping the great god, Profit, steadily scornful of the plain people's *needs*, never in America, — never anywhere on earth, has the ruling class or its distinguished stooges shown such clownish savagery of awkward, brutal sabotage.

**Government sabotage and wholesale private sabotage against human need, this sabotage is here to stay as long as the profit system lasts.**

Oh well, what's the difference? Why complain? Profit is God, and doesn't obedience to God come first? Under the profit system the prevention and destruction of plenty are according to the law of god, the god Profit; and the rewarding of the workers with less than plenty to buy plenty is also according to the law of the god, Profit. *If you accept this god, and defend this god, and worship this god, then obey this god and take your medicine.*

Don't laugh at the ignorant savage who worships the sun. The sun at least lights the day, keeps him warm, builds the trees, ripens the fruits and grains, directly or indirectly drives every organic and mechanical power plant on earth, and just about "runs the whole show" of life on this planet. The worship of the sun isn't half bad. But . . . this! all this, in the name of the nation's god, in barbarian obedience to a savage god, Profit, sanctioned and protected by the prayers, or at least by the *consenting silence*, of most of the leading representatives of Jesus Christ.

How long, oh, how long will this progress-balking, race-cursing god be permitted to pervert, belittle and strangle Science, eager to serve all with plenty?

Ah, soon and surely the multitude of toil, wrestling with mortgages, all the eaters of bologna, margarine and skimmed milk, the whole chiseled multitude of meanly clad, meanly nourished workers, all, — all these will see the hideous meaning of legalized arson in the orchards and vineyards, — the social meaning of hundreds of thousands of ill-clad farmers plowing under millions of acres of cloth material, the malignant meaning of wholesale, nation-wide planned destruction of food and cloth-

ing, while tens of millions of children, pale and miserable, trudge ahead of time to their graves.

O toilers all, deep in the swamps of the profit system, think till your souls catch fire with contempt for this subsistence statesmanship. How utterly ridiculous, yet tragically true: no other animal on earth can be thus embarrassed by plenty to be enjoyed and within reach. No mule in a pasture with plenty of clover all around him would humbly bray: "Please pass the thistles." But millions of workers with the porterhouse steaks all around them, humbly whimper, "Kindly pass the liver."

Here's a fact to be held in mind and to be *repeated daily* to your *unroused neighbor*, — daily till he wakes to *think like a man and act like a god*, too proud to be put to sleep in the hell of poverty with the chloroform of flattery and of charity, while plenty is easily possible for all, — here is the fact (deliberately repeated in this book):

A hundred million bluffed Americans are now balked and teased and threatened, forced to live on less than plenty in a land of potential plenty for all.

Read, look, learn and think until you realize you are *ridiculous* as long as you lack the heart and grit to yell: "To hell with planned scarcity, planned poverty, and planned banquets for flies, maggots and buzzards, while labor, garbed in rags and shoddy, eats crusts wet with tears of pain and shame."

Buzzards can win and buzzard statesmanship can rule and ruin only as long as dull, whimpering slaves submit to the cruel silence on plenty for all, while buzzards, fattened on lamb chops, flap their wings in celebration of their victory over the men, women and children of the working class.

Stand up! Stiffen your lips! The humble multitude will cease to be humble as soon as we help them see the meaning of bribery and arson to prevent plenty, of laws to prevent plenty, of a vast civil corps employed to prevent plenty, of political party platforms silent on plenty, — plenty for everybody now. Soon and surely they will study, understand and hate and destroy the plans that include the crowning shame of all the ages, the general order:

"To the garbage pile with billions of days' labor, *if not profitable!*

"To the flames, to the fish, to maggots and buzzards with billions of tons of food, *if not profitable!*

"To hell with the common people!

"Let the buzzards win!"



## CHAPTER IX

### SONS OF THE SOIL — CORNERED

Greetings, fellow-farmers!

May the gods, the fates and the furies have no mercy upon us all till we *wake up, read up, think it through, stand up, stand together, face our enemies and fight it out* for a policy of *Plenty For All Of Us*, — all who work.

Long ago the farmer, like all other workers who have pride and brains enough to vision life as it ought to be, — the farmer dreamed a dream that marked him as a man worth while; he dreamed of independence: he would become an "independent farmer". Today, after dreaming for more than a hundred years of "independence", of copping a "section", and of getting rich, —dreaming about our grown-up sons and daughters established, happy and free in lovely homes surrounded by flowers and trees on a "160" of choice unmortgaged acres, — today after a century and a half of "agricultural progress" and so-called prosperity, we sons of the soil must rouse from the dream and look at the nightmare of facts that face us American farmers, with our 80 billion dollar investment, half of us, even on Sunday, dressed in shoddy and hand-me-downs.

The outlook is hard and harsh for the farmer. Let me tell you briefly why I think so, and then I wish to tell you briefly how, in the game of life, we can win on the farm.

First, — The Farmers' Situation:

As a member of the working class the dice are loaded against the American farmer. He is booked for defeat under the production-for-profit system. Like the "plain working man" the farmer is surrounded, — cornered, — and like other workers he can be legally robbed of the fruits of his toil.

Let us here set down some outstanding facts for consideration by the farmer, his family and his friends who may be dreaming of a new time, the new era of the "independent farmer".

#### Fact A. LOW INCOME.

In 1929, the boom year, about six million farmers had, after deducting production expenses (interest, taxes, cash for wage-labor, and materials for production) a net total of

\$4,890,000,000, an average of \$815 to pay for the labor of the farmer, his wife and children. In that year almost half of the farmers had net cash incomes of only \$356 each for clothing, cars, taxes, mortgage payments, improvements, household goods, comforts and luxuries (1). In the same year about 28% of our farms produced a total of less than \$600 each, including products consumed as well as products sold, and their average cash income was about \$200 each. Counting an average of five to a family, that was less than 11 cents a day per person for schools, books, papers, amusement, taxes, medicine, coffee, tea, clothing, auto, etc., etc.<sup>1</sup>

In 1930 the average income of 48.8% of American farmers was \$320, — the total value of their farm products, consumed by themselves and their families, and of their farm products sold in the market. That is, almost half of the “independent farmers” averaged less than \$1.00 a day for all the toil, sweat and worry of the farmer and his family, — less than two weeks’ pay for a 10,000 dollar a year congressman or senator, who takes such good care of us in Washington and tells us how independent we are, while he (*quite independently*) is on vacation six months in the year at \$30 a day, with twenty cents a mile allowance to and from his job, and patriotically exempting *his* \$10,000 from income tax!

Less than three cents an hour in 1932, and less than six cents an hour in 1935 was the income on half the farms in America for labor for the farmer, his wife and (on the average) one child of work age, as “cash income” after deducting production expenses for materials used, hired labor, interest and taxes. (Prisoners in Sing Sing Prison, New York, receive from five to thirty cents a day for their work. Of course both the prisoners and the farmers and their families also received food and shelter; but the prisoners also got their clothing and much else, and did not have to “chip in” to the collection at religious worship.) With that income we paid for repairs; bought clothing, fuel, automobiles, insurance, books, magazines, high-grade radios; paid off notes; had medical attendance and fun at the movies; went on vacations requiring cash for meals, lodging, gas and oil; paid university expenses, — and soaked away the balance in the bank! On that income life on the farm for half of the 6,200,000 farmers and their families was a continuous romping, rollicking spree of independence. Oh, yeah?

Including the subsidies to farmers for sabotage, their income in 1934 was only what it was in 1931, and only 57% of what it was in 1929.

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<sup>1</sup>*Income in Agriculture*, p. 19, by Robt. F. Martin.

## Fact B. FARM TENANTRY INCREASING.

Tenant farming is increasing rapidly. In 1910 two thirds of the farmers were owners. Today 42% of us are tenant farmers on tenant farms which average 27 acres; and we pay 72% of our *cash* rent, and almost 72% of our *share* rent to non-farming landlords, such as bankers and insurance companies. Increasingly absentee landownership permits the farming of the real farmers by non-farmers "world without end". Thus agriculture increasingly makes toward serfdom. ✓

The next fact in our present situation is so wide and deep that it is revolutionary. Here it is:

## Fact C. SUBDIVIDING THE OLD FARM.

Hereafter you must slice up and subdivide your present farm (none too large)\* for your sons and daughters, or nearly all of them must hustle to the towns and cities, where the struggle for jobs is already bitter.

The farmer's multitude of grown-up youth, defeated on the farm, cannot escape defeat by going to the cities for jobs. Millions of mechanics and mill-hands are unemployed; commercial schools are turning out swarms of trained office workers; in 1934 over 250,000 certified teachers were out of work, and teacher incomes are falling; almost 50,000 preachers had no jobs and those in service had average salaries of less than \$800; professional engineers are a drug on the market; lawyers, dentists and doctors, tens of thousands of them, are desperate. It is reported by The American Library Association that there are fifteen persons already trained and ready for every job available. And so it goes all along the line. And still nearly six hundred universities, colleges and professional schools annually pour out a new army of eager trained young people.

## Fact D. MORTGAGE LOAD.

The increasing mortgage load clearly indicates the drift against us:

In 1910 farm mortgages equaled 10% of all farm values.

In 1928 farm mortgages equaled 18% of all farm values.

In 1930 farm mortgages equaled 22% of all farm values.

In 1932 farm mortgages equaled 40% of all farm values. (60% of present value.)

Nearly 500,000 farmers lost their farms through fore-

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\*The 1930 census gives the information that 43% of the farms had acreage of less than fifty acres in 1929.)

closures from 1920 to 1930, and a vast number of delinquents were not foreclosed. 36% of farm loans are delinquent, according to financial agencies reporting to the Department of Agriculture. The ratio of forced sales to all forms of farm property transfers for the year ending March 15th, 1929, was 34%; for 1933 it was 58%.<sup>\*</sup>

Today we American farmers stagger under a grand-total mortgage of approximately \$10,000,000,000; and very recently 71% of the value of our productive farm property (barns, fields, machinery, etc.) was mortgaged. Even in good old Iowa the farm mortgages amounted to an average of \$75 on every farm acre in the state in 1933; and \$95 an acre in 1936.

And the total farm mortgage grows! This is an old story, of course, but the fact is heavy as a mountain in the life of labor on the farm. In the lending of money to farmers the professional lenders, in millions of cases, viciously discriminated against the borrowers in the matter of terms. And "God only knows" how vast is the total farm debt that has been paid with a dollar that would buy even twice as much as a dollar would buy when the debt was contracted.

The farmer's sons who now and in the future buy farms and give heavy mortgages, are, in most cases, doomed to play a game with the dice of life loaded against them.

#### Fact E. INADEQUATE FARM DWELLINGS.

Today American farm dwellings, for our wives, our children and ourselves, actually average about \$1000 in value, — severely plain and petty, cheerless and ill-equipped subdivided boxes or stalls, — that's what most of them are. 842 per thousand have no bath rooms, for instance, and 866 per thousand have no electricity. In value these "homes" represent only a little more than *one month's pay* of a \$10,000 a year statesman who flatters us for two months every second year, and divides us politically and thus **splits our political power** (and the political power of the city workers also) by flimflamming us into two political parties *not* controlled by the workers, — workers on farms and workers in cities.

#### Fact F. PRICES PAID AND PRICES RECEIVED.

In 1929-30 agricultural prices fell 63%, and production only 6%; but prices of agricultural machinery fell only 6% and production 80%.

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<sup>\*</sup>Robt. F. Martin: *Income in Agriculture*, p. 58.)

True, the farmer owns a productive plant of his own; but the farmer can't "shut down" and wait, as the factory does. (Don't forget that 42% of them are tenants, and a multitude of non-tenant farmers are mortgaged into helplessness.)

In November, 1930, prices paid by the farmer were 123% of the prices of 1909-14, but the prices received by the farmer were only 71% of those prices. In other words he paid 23% more and received 29% less. In 1933 general commodity prices were 30% under the 1926 level; farm products were 46% under that level.

Today, tenderly cared for by \$10,000-a-year statesmen, when we need a reaper or thresher we are forced to face barricaded machinery-trust bandits who compel us to pay them more for American-made machinery than they require from farmers in South Africa and elsewhere for the same American machinery including freight for 5000 to 10,000 miles.

### Fact G. MIDDLEMEN.

Most of our major crops are used for dice and faro chips in gentlemen's gilt-edged gambling dens of "trade"; our crops are tossed around like footballs in the swindlers' and chisellers' counterfeit "Produce Exchange", — our total wheat, corn and cotton crops actually bought and sold from fifteen to twenty-five times before they are harvested. In the Chicago Board of Trade alone in 1933 our total national wheat crop was bought and sold twenty times, tossed, taken and retossed on the unhung gamblers' betting wheel-of-chance.

Out of every three dollars paid for farm products, the farmer gets one dollar; middlemen get the other two dollars.\*

For millions of tons of our farm produce, trusts, gamblers, middlemen and chamber-of-commerce price-fixers haughtily tell us, "Take it or leave it, Mr. Corntassel." This! to us! from thousands of soft-palmed speculation looters called "traders", who have no more respect for agriculture as an *honored national social service* than a lion has for the Golden Rule. In short, if we had not humbly taken our places, as it were, in the national breadline as receivers of cash subsidies, hand-outs and doles, somewhat as local so-called "breadline bums" are "helped" with beans, carrots and chicory, American agriculture would by this time be bogged down in hopeless bankruptcy. (Thus under AAA, a subsidy of \$800,000,000 a year to farmers.) And that reveals where we are and the direction of our progress, —sliding toward early disaster.

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\*Figures given by Congressman Gardner R. Withrow, in a speech in Congress in August, 1935.

But there is still more in these cards stacked against the farmers.

#### Fact H. FINED FOR PRODUCING PLENTY.

Most important of all: if we farmers produce plenty, simply plenty, of anything, we are punished, — fined by a collapse in prices, or a government order or “request” to destroy or reduce the “surplus.” Surplus! while scores of millions of our fellow workers, without ample buying power, are in desperate need of this so-called “surplus.”

For example:

The American farmers were guilty of producing 3 billion bushels of corn in 1925, instead of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  billion bushels. (500 million bushels “too much.”) Therefore, declared the God of Profits, the farmers must be punished and “taught a lesson” for actually rolling up plenty of corn for the needs of all the people. For this crime the decree is: “The American farmers are fined \$1,500,000,000.” That’s what actually happened in 1925. Good use could have been made of all the corn at a price rewarding the farmers decently for their splendid service. But under the profit system it was declared there were 500,000,000 bushels too much corn, and so the price was cut fifty cents a bushel on *all* of the corn. The farmers were paid  $1\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars *less* for producing the extra corn.

In 1928 the farmers produced over 509 million bushels more corn than in 1924, but the price collapsed and they received over 447 million dollars *less* for the abundant crop than for the smaller one. This also “taught the farmers a lesson” and made them more careful the next season, — careful not to produce plenty for everybody under the profit system.

As a matter of fact, fellow farmers, instead of producing somewhat less than three billion bushels of corn in 1928 (for which we were fined) we should have produced at least four billion bushels; and in an industrially sane society we would have been richly rewarded for every bushel of that four billion. All of that so-called “surplus” corn could easily have been used to fatten more cattle, hogs, sheep, chickens, ducks, and turkeys, thus providing abundance of beef, bacon, etc. for ourselves and our fellow workers; and part of that extra corn could have been exchanged internationally for rubber, coffee, tea, etc.

40% of our acreage in 1933 was in corn and cotton. (For an example of cotton “surplus” see Chapter IV “All Ready”).

*If a farmer succeeds* in producing abundance the prices collapse and he loses in total income for more work.

*If a farmer succeeds* in holding production down to a scarcity level he loses again: loses the purchases of millions who can't pay the higher prices, loses also in self-respect, knowing that the scarcity policy means hunger and privation to millions, loses the deep satisfaction of serving society as a whole with *plenty*, as he himself would prefer to be served, unless his soul is slowly turning to flint under the vicious pressures of the profit system.

You see the vast mass of people in the cities, towns and villages do not have an income of plenty to buy plenty of beef, cream, butter, leather products, mutton, wool, eggs, chickens, etc. So the farmer gets kicked in the face for failing to worship the God of Scarcity according to the rule of the religion of production-for-profits.

On the farm and in the mill, wherever workers are, — *silence on plenty for everybody.*

(After a season of earnest prayer, brother farmer, please reread my chapter, "The Buzzards' Victory.")

Of course, from a social point of view, in good common sense, plenty is reasonable, wholesome and really beautiful; but under the profit system plenty is ridiculous and a disaster for the producers of the plenty. At last, after 150 years of sweating, we farmers are now able to produce plenty of many good things for all the people; but we find ourselves punished, floored, flat on our backs, — not permitted to produce plenty, while 100,000,000 citizens (including ourselves) have less than plenty of good things, and millions of our grown-up children on the farm face the cruelly unfair dilemma: "We can't stay here! Yet there's no place to go!" (Read on. I'll show you.)

To the great facts already set down in this chapter I shall presently add sixteen more, because before we fight we must have the facts. Fight? Yes. A hot fight too, with facts for cannon, facts to serve us in the sublime national debate for *our* share of life, — a life made glad and beautiful with dignity and security and plenty in a land of plenty.

Indeed, brother farmer, I am eager that the set-up of facts in this chapter and the next may lead to a vivid realization that *we now draw rapidly to the close of an era*, and that *we must think or sink*; realize that fundamental changes require fundamental readjustments.

Here a warning, fellow farmer: In all your thinking about our situation, — Beware! Beware! Beware of the dope-peddlers with their dangerous drivel and piffle about overproduction. "Get" the method of the masters who cheat, chisel and defeat

us. Here's their method: *Dull the slave's brain*, — paralyze him with prattle and piffle about "overproduction." Dull the slave's brain with the syrup of "relief" wrapped in charity chatter, loaded with the poison called "unfortunate surpluses." Then he is easily managed and governed, easily plucked and safely despised and kicked downstairs to live in the cellar of life, in the gloom of ignorance, poverty and fear.

Believe me, brethren, as things stand with us today, there is reason for more reading, more study, more facts, more understanding, more fraternalism, more pride, courage and cooperation by farmers and other workers, than at any other time since George Washington hung up his sword at his Mt. Vernon home and faced life again as a farmer.

Here I ask the old question: What's the matter with the American farmer? Why is the farmer steadily sinking into a twentieth century serfdom and defeat under the chains of tenantry and mortgage debt?

Well, this we know. He is not lazy. In industry, in willingness to serve society, the American farmer may have equals, but he has no superiors. Also he is not dull. In mentality, man for man, the farmer and his wife are on the average equal to the rest of us, including the best of us. Proof? Look at the brain record of his children in the schools, where brains are tested every day for a dozen years from the country school to the university, and through the university if and when the farmer's children are fortunate enough to have such opportunity to show the world their worth in brains as well as industry. But Greek poets and philosophers, having become slaves, were often chained to their masters' front doors at night to serve as watch dogs.

There he stands, — the American farmer, — gypped, stripped, swindled, outraged, overworked, underpaid, and cruelly belittled by arrogant, parasitic, dollar-mad snobs, who are fed and clothed with the best each day, every day, all their lives, through the farmers' sweating service.

In addition to furnishing millions of tons of materials for numerous manufactures, the farmer feeds and clothes the nation. He furnishes all the wool, cotton, flax and feathers for all the mattresses, sheets, blankets, pillows and table linen for all the Pullman sleepers, dining cars, hotels and homes; he provides all the food served in all the dining cars, hotels and homes; yet (just to illustrate) when on a night train with his wife and children, he and they must turn and toss and twist, sleepless and miserable all night long in the day coach. That is what I saw in the day coaches of a Northern Pacific train in North Dakota



at midnight and at four A. M., when recently I went four times through the long train to see and hear and learn. There were four Pullmans not half full and the day coaches were packed. And when morning comes the farmer and his family must eat a cold snack from a basket, barred by penury, taxes and mortgages from entering the dining car to sit at a convenient table and order plenty of the best food furnished by the farms; — not permitted to enter a well appointed toilet room to bathe their hands and faces and comb their childrens' hair. (I know. I've traveled all night many a night with them.)

And when the farmer goes to town to shop (and pay the mortgage installment) he dare not take his family to dine at the best hotel where the choicest porterhouse steaks and fried young chicken from the farm are served. No, indeed, The Farmer, with those he loves must meekly seek a cheap "eatery," often called "Farmers' Restaurant;" and there order modestly after cautiously studying the price column, even though he brought to town from his farm one or more first class beeves to sell. And if it be fall time he will not return home with his family and himself outfitted for the rigors of winter with handsome, warm woolens, though the flock on his farm may have furnished sufficient firstclass wool to outfit half a hundred families.

On millions of American farms from Maine to Arizona, even for Sunday dinner the venerable rooster and the retired old hen are the limit of table luxury, because taxes, mortgages and the wolves of want require that the choicest young cockerels, the prime spring lambs and the best young beeves and turkeys must be modestly sent off to market for other people to enjoy; just as here in California, 95% of Californians, including the orange growers, do not eat plenty of the best grade of the famous sunkist fruit, though thousands of boxes are buried in the orchards or polluted with petroleum and set afire!

Oh yes, if you ask me, I've been a farmer, *and I've been farmed* too, where, after the morning hour of cheerful choring, we had the 8-hour day (twice a day) in the fields, and then for another hour did the chores again just for the joy of it, merely to round out the diurnal spasm of bubbling joy in the lilting idyl of life on the farm. We had no alarm clock on our farm, — didn't need one. The mortgage was sufficient to rouse us in time for an hour's enjoyment of the poetic gloom and shifting shadows of the dewy dawn, full ready then in spiritual elation and purity of pastoral mood to greet the rising sun, list to the lark's romantic melody, and watch the other early birds give the early worms ——!

When I was born, when only a mere child, I was at once

sentenced to twenty years on an Ohio farm, serf of bankers, the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., Pittsburgh stockyards, meat-packers' trust and other combinations of unhung chisellers and business buccaneers, who had then, and have now, nothing finer than a sneer for the thought that the man on the farm, and his family, should have *plenty* of the very best of everything on this planet.

That was long ago. In the intervening years I have addressed and studied farmers in forty-seven states. So in some respects I am prepared to write here a few pages on the problem of plenty for the farmer and his family. I believe I see clearly the "drift," and this is written to warn, and to help find the answer to "What shall we do to be saved?" Saved? Yes; look at us.

May the gods take notice of the American farmer, plagued by sheep-ticks, hog-cholera, cattlearbles and politicians; plundered by chintzbugs, wheatflies, cornborers, grasshoppers and statesmen; robbed by cutworms, mildew, plant-lice and middlemen; looted by hail, wind, drought, dust-storms and clouds of jobbers, gypers, frauds, fakirs and numerous other parasitic, dollar-marked social insects; yes, there stands the American farmer, gypped also by predatory railway, stockyard and warehouse barons, by swaggering bankers, mortgage-holders and manufacturers of fertilizer and farm machinery, all of whom haughtily agree that plenty is too much and the best is too good for "mere farmers."

What is the outlook for the future of the farmer and his children under the profit system? It is fairly obvious and pretty generally admitted that, in the very climax of our national industrial development, the American farmer is "going into a decline," obvious indeed that millions of farmers are right now sinking into near-serfdom, and at least 95% of them are booked for trouble, still more trouble. In short, American agriculture is sick. Very.

However, my study of frogs makes me hopeful about the farmers.

"Frogs?—How come? Why bring that up?"

Well, in the zoological laboratories of Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, it has been demonstrated that a frog, with its cerebellum and both hemispheres of its cerebrum removed, still breathes normally, snaps at and swallows food, leaps and swims regularly, and is able to right itself when thrown on its back.\*

Now I do not wish to appear vain or recklessly over-confi-

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\*Dr. Robert W. Hegner: *College Zoology*, p. 450.

dent, willing to crow over a frog; but at times I do feel sure that if a mere frog can do all these things for quite a spell after losing all his brains, then we farmers, most of us "flat on our backs," still possessing all our brains,—we farmers can learn enough about our financial situation to make perfectly clear to us "what we must do to be saved,"—*what* we must do to *turn over, stand up, and victoriously "hop to it"* in self-defense as workers. Really that frog makes me fearless.

When a man is knocked down, and nearly out, it is important for him to know what hit him, whether he was struck with a rock, a club, a fist or a system.

Now, a physician is both useless and dangerous if he is unable to make a correct diagnosis to determine *what's* the matter. While I am not a doctor, I have in the next chapter endeavored to present, modestly, some data (symptoms, causes and conditions), a list of facts to be added to those already given, facts helpful, I trust, to the farmer in understanding his own case; helpful too, I think, in realizing that the dice of life are loaded against the farmer and his children, under the profit system; and especially helpful in realizing that all who work should unite as a class, boldly facing and fighting the cunning class who live by flattering and gypping the workers on the farm and in the factory.

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind. —F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—From WAR—WHAT FOR?

## CHAPTER X

### SONS OF THE SOIL — THE WAY OUT

Now let us count the barb wires in the fence that imprisons the farmers in their struggle for existence. First, the matter of organization.

#### Fact 1. THE GREAT CHANGE, — THE REVOLUTION IN THE LIFE OF THE FARMER.

While the farmer dreamed, the world turned over and turned the farmer upside down, so to speak. Whereas a hundred years ago, and less, the American farmer on the average consumed 80% and marketed 20% of his products, today he consumes less than 20% and markets more than 80% of his products. (In 1929, over 87% was marketed.) The rather self-sufficient and independent farmer of former times, 80% independent of the market, has become a heavy seller and a heavy buyer; he has become at least 80% dependent on the market both as buyer and as seller; and thus the market, whatever it is, makes him or breaks him as buyer and as seller, makes him or breaks him too as a worker, as a member of the *first grand division* of the nation's workers.

#### Fact 2. AS SELLERS THE FARMERS ARE UNORGANIZED; but—

#### Fact 3. THEY SELL TO ORGANIZED BUYERS, the organized chisellers, middlemen, trusts and alliances.

In May, 1934, my host at Lebanon, Oregon, showed me a cherry tree that had borne 800 pounds of splendid Royal Anne cherries, for which a "take it or leave it" band of commercial bandits paid him one cent a pound. At a Lebanon grocery I bought a small bottle of "maraschinoed" Royal Anne cherries at a price that amounted to one cent per cherry. (Seventeen in the bottle for seventeen cents.) Since there are sixty or more such cherries in a pound, the gross profit on the cherries in the bottle was 5900 per cent.

For their farm products last year the farmers got 7 billion dollars, but the consumers paid 18 billions, although 4 billions could have covered the entire necessary bill for distribution. The farmers' products are resold by organized sellers to unorganized buyers whose incomes make a poor market.

Clearly enough, the *masters of the market* in which the farmer *sells his labor embodied in his product*, are the masters of the farmers as workers, just as in the cities the master-buyers of labor in the "labor market" are the masters of the other grand division of the Sons of Toil.

Fact 4. AS BUYERS THE FARMERS ARE UNORGANIZED; but—

Fact 5. THEY BUY OF ORGANIZED SELLERS,—must face at least a thousand organized trusts, combinations and commercial alliances. The buyer of labor power nearly always *sets the price*, and in all but rare cases, the buyer of farm products *sets the price*. And also when the farmers and the wage-earner buy from the merchants, manufacturers, and mine-owners they have the prices set *for* them.

Voiceless and voteless in the market, the farmers must more or less meekly inquire: "What price *must* I take?" and "What price *must* I pay?"

The individual farm turns out to be a sort of industrial island such that when the farmer leaves his island to sell, he's waylaid and gypped by an organized world; and when he leaves his island to buy, again he's waylaid and gypped, plenty, by an organized world, almost helpless as a buyer, and likewise as a seller.

These conditions alone are almost sufficient to guarantee defeat for the farmer. But here's more of the story:

Fact 6. EXCESSIVE- AND UNFAIR TAX BURDENS HINDER THE FARMER.

Several forms of "property" can be hidden from the tax-gatherer by those who can pay for the service of the income tax juggler; but the farm is in plain sight, fair game for the tax-collector. Ask the farmer,—he knows he is more and more forced to carry more than his share of the tax load. But from 30 to 40 billion dollars in bonds, and also incomes on them, go scot free of taxes. And the Supreme Court's obliging ruling that the incomes paid in stock dividends are tax-free has meant side-stepping of millions in income taxes.

The value of property devoted to agriculture in 1910 was 40 billion dollars; by 1920 it had increased to 79 billion dollars. Then came the slaughter; we were "liquidated." Twenty billion dollars in our land values were snatched from us, with a drop of 50% in our farm income in 1921. But farm taxes,

already high in 1919, based on vastly expanded land values, were increased over 100% from 1919 to 1929.<sup>1</sup>

Again between 1929 and 1932 farm values fell 56% and farm incomes fell six billions; but taxes remained unchanged. As millions became unable to pay their taxes, the remaining farmers must endure ever higher taxes.

Today, in spite of some readjustment, our farm taxes are violently out of proportion, considered in the light of common sense and justice. With our swiftly increasing productive power and our rapidly decreasing foreign markets, the profit system is staggering to its doom, but is to be propped up for as many years as possible by destroying "surplus" goods, by curtailment of production, and by the use of bayonets,—all to be supported by increasing taxation, from which the farmer cannot escape an outrageously disproportionate share.

#### Fact 7. EXPANSIVE POWER OF FARM PRODUCTION.

More and more, science fortunately boosts the potential quantity of American products. However, the market, even for the present output is inadequate.

Mechanical power on the farm has added enormously to farm production. From 1920 to 1930 farm tractors increased by 750,000. Students of agriculture tell us that while it took three hours of human labor to produce a bushel of wheat in 1900, three minutes of machine labor would do the same thing in 1930, a relation of sixty to one.\* Furthermore, these tractors took the place of about 9,000,000 horses and mules in farm work between 1918 and 1932, and probably a million more were displaced by automobiles in the cities during the same time. Out of the 90,000,000 acres of hay and pasture land formerly used to feed these animals, about 30,000,000 acres were thus released for other crops.\*

Improvements in animal husbandry have released another 25 million acres since the war. For example, the average milk production per cow

in 1850 was 1436 pounds yearly,  
in 1900, 3646 pounds yearly,  
in 1927, 4600 pounds yearly, and better milk.\*

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<sup>1</sup>O. E. Baker: *Recent Economic Changes*, Vol. I, p. 92.

\*See speech by Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in June, '31, "*America Faces the Future*," p. 15.

\*See U. S. Department of Agriculture *Year Book*, 1923, p. 456, and Dowell and Jess-ne: *The American Farmer and the Export Market*, p. 79. Also O. E. Baker: *Recent Social Trends*, p. 105.

\*Governor Lowden of Illinois: *A Century of Progress*, p. 135, edited by Chas. A. Beard.

It is estimated that improvements since the war in the ways and means employed in crop production, animal husbandry, and crop-selection and adaptation, now yield a farm-production increase equivalent to the output of 55,000,000 acres of land, or 18% addition.

O. W. Wilson, agricultural biologist, estimates that if only 80% of possible yields were achieved with plenty of water and fertilizer, 50 million acres would grow all the wheat, corn, oats, barley, rye, cotton, potatoes and sugar now grown on 350 million acres.

All this explains why, in spite of the increase in population, our acreage devoted to crops has remained about the same for the last twenty years. The 50,000,000 additional acres of pasture and hay land brought under cultivation to profit on the World War still complicates the "farm problem."

Yet more and more dams for hydro-electric power and for conservation of water will hold back the precious water to boost production and rescue millions of acres of desert for huge crops, while already the supply surpasses the available market. This service of science includes not only the improvement of corn, wheat, etc., but the supply and quality of soil-builders. There are nearly six tons of nitrogen in the air over every square yard of the earth's surface. Hydro-electric nitrate-fixation plants will yet be used on a vast scale to produce the "lightning" for gathering all the precious nitrogen the farmer needs, which will further expand the quantity of farm products.

Of course the market does not and will not expand to match this amazing increase in production efficiency on the farm.

The agricultural output per worker on farms increased 22% from 1912 to 1921; ditto from '22 to '31. One farmer feeds himself and three other members of his family, twelve other Americans, and two foreigners,—eighteen in all.

#### MIGRATION FROM THE FARM

In 1910 our farm population was 31,614,000,—34% of the total.

In 1930 it was 27,222,000,—22% of the total.

This shows an *actual* drop of over 13% and a *proportional* drop of 12% in twenty years while the total population increased. Thus fewer produce more. Moreover, in 1929, 50.2% of the farmers produced 90% of the products, and the other 49.8% could have been eliminated and reduced the total product only 10%. Improved machinery and crop and animal husbandry require, for the available market, relatively and abso-



lutely fewer and fewer farmers. It is estimated that the market available (under the profit system) in 1950 can be supplied by the number of farmers on American farms in 1850, thus adding to the migration from farm to city, and to the fierceness of the scramble for jobs, and to the army of the unemployed.

If millions "return to the farms," they shrink the "city market" for many farm products. If millions leave the farms for the city, they increase the city unemployed—poor buyers.

#### Fact 8. DECLINING FOREIGN MARKET.

Here is a "four-barrelled" fact affecting American farmers: Due to two main causes, our foreign market is fast disappearing.

a. At the close of the World War, several foreign countries were hungry and too deeply in debt and desperately poor to continue heavy importation of foodstuffs; they were thrown upon their own resources, *compelled to develop their own agricultural self-maintenance resources as far and as rapidly as possible*. Then the decline. The 533,000,000 bushels of grain exported in '21 and '22 fell to 210,000,000 in 1925-6, a slump of nearly two thirds.

To illustrate, more than a dozen years ago, Germany's average per-acre wheat yield was approximately double the average yield in the United States.

b. More and more, our high tariffs result in retaliatory tariffs against our exports, and in shrinkage of foreign markets for American products.

In the closing decades of the 19th century many huge ship-loads of America's best beeves on foot, and choicer quarters "in chill," poured from the United States to Europe. That ceased long ago except during the World War, when men as well as cattle were butchered wholesale. And, by the way, the World War directly and indirectly destroyed 30 million persons who no longer need any farm products.

England formerly imported 26% of her pork products from the United States; now only 6%. Germany, formerly our best market, now has 300% tariff;—produces her own. For the production of our pork and lard exports in 1927 over 7,000,000 acres less land were necessary than in 1924.

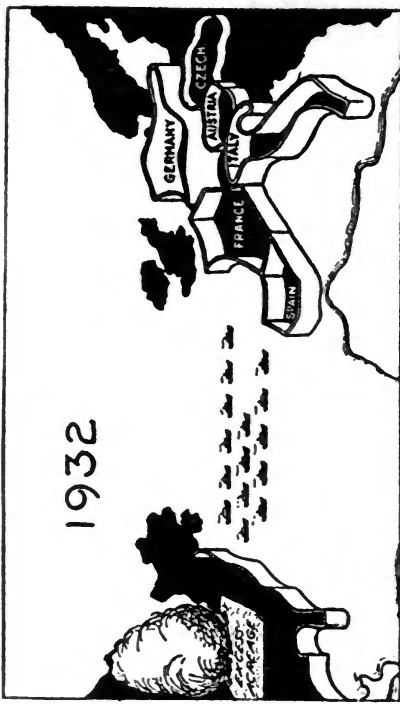
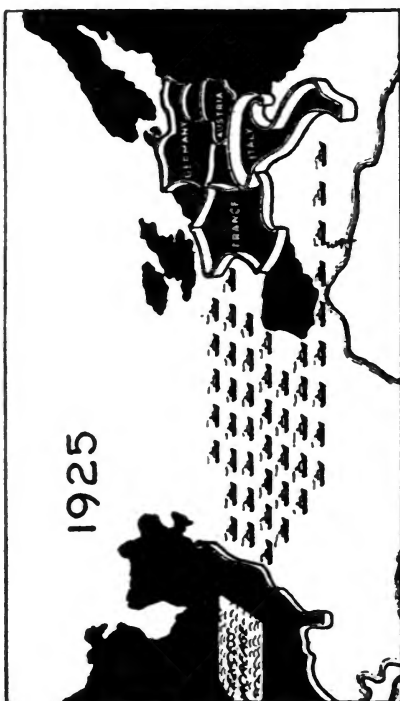
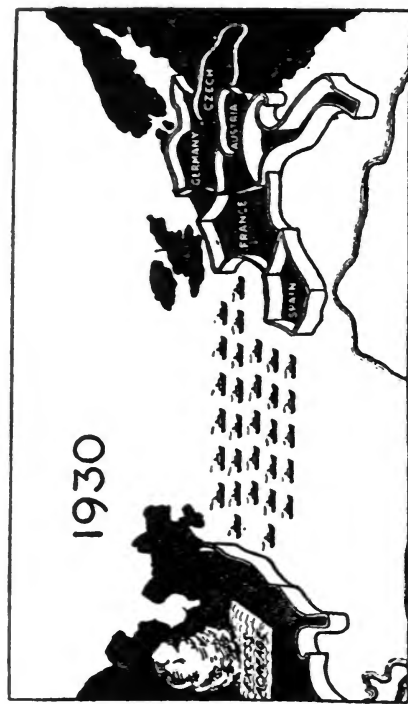
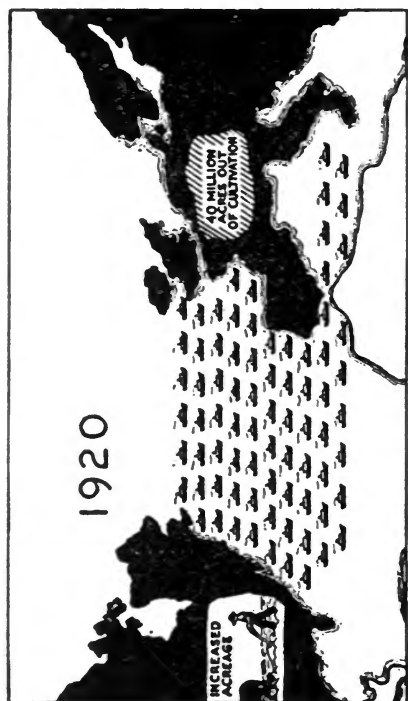
(Note. Dowell and Jessness: *The American Farmer and the Export Market*.)

Italy has stopped all wheat and flour imports.

Cotton exports in 1929 amounted to.....\$770,830,000

In 1932..... 345,165,000

Decrease.....\$425,665,000



EACH SHIP IN THE PICTURES REPRESENTS \$50,000,000 WORTH OF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS.—Reproduced by permission of *Wallace's Farmer*.

From 1920 to 1935 there was a 75% drop in volume of cotton textiles exported; and exports of woolen fabrics have all but disappeared.

Our total export of farm products in 1933 was 14% below those of 1932, and 33% below those of 1929.

## Fact 9. OTHER NATIONS COMPETING FOR MARKETS.

Vast regions of the earth have in the last fifty years developed into heavy exporters of farm products competing disastrously with the American farmers for their foreign market; notably Argentina, Russia and Australia.

From 1900 to 1928 the beef exports of Argentina rose from 54 million pounds to 2000 million pounds, an increase of over 3600%. In the same interval, Canada's wheat exports increased nearly 1000%.

Exports of wheat in 1931-32:

Canada .....	199 million bushels
Australia .....	155 million bushels
Argentina .....	144 million bushels
United States .....	135 million bushels
Russia .....	71 million bushels

France is exporting wheat for the first time in years.\*

## Fact 10. HOME MARKET DECREASING.

*First*, the slowing down of the population growth is dead against indefinite expansion both of the home market and of the world market for farm products. In the century from 1790 to 1890 the American population multiplied fifteen-fold. But starting with the 63 million of 1890, our population in the next forty years increased less than 100%. Assuming a regular continuous change in rate, the rate was nearly six times as fast during the first 100 years as it was in the 40 years following 1890. And the rate since 1930 is still lower, or slower. This is due to several causes:

a. Birth control is sweeping the civilized world, and is certainly operating powerfully in the United States. Here the ratio of birth to the population has been declining for many years, and very rapidly since the war,—more than 2% annually during the last ten years. Dr. O. E. Baker of the Department of Agriculture, a population expert, reports the number of children under five years of age per 1000 women as follows:

in 1860.....	714
in 1900.....	541

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\*Dowell & Jesness: *The American Farmer and the Export Market.*

in 1935.....340 approximately.

b. Anti-immigration laws mean that never again will foreigners sweep into this country in numbers from 500,000 to 1,000,000 a year.

c. Owing to poverty and insecurity, a vast number of marriages are postponed from one to a dozen years, or more, with an obvious effect on normal population growth.

It is carefully estimated by population experts that by 1970, possibly by 1960, our national population will have become stabilized,—ceased to grow. The same is essentially true of some other countries significant to the American farmer. Thus, just at a time when we have lost most of our foreign market, our home market population is slowing down amazingly. Unless the per person purchasing power is greatly increased, the farmers' outlook is gloomy, under the profit system. Surely, the "independent" farmers' welfare depends upon the welfare of the multitude living in the cities and towns right here in our own country.

*Second*, on account of slim-figure fashion and dress style and scientific dieting, many millions of women eat less and wear less, thus shrinking the market. The present slim-figure fashion for women is not likely to go out of style; not if the women can help it, and many millions of them can. Also, the long skirts requiring one-third or one-half more wool and cotton are gone forever; and never again will American women wear three or four (or five) petticoats. Hardly. And this means a significant shrinking of the market for cotton and wool to make things that many millions of women and grown-up girls "wouldn't think of wearing" any more.

*Third*, increasing concentration of wealth cuts down the market for farm produce. During the war there was an astonishing increase of millionaires, 7925 in 1916 alone. Likewise, during much of the present panic, vast wealth has piled up to the credit of the *very* rich. However, this means no corresponding increase in the rich group's power to consume farm products. The billionaire can eat no more than the manager of a delicatessen or a railway brakeman. Spite of all his wealth, the very rich man can eat less corn, wheat or oats than a horse, and less meat than a hound. Three fresh young chickens (the feathered kind), two inch-thick porterhouse steaks, and a gallon of champagne is just about the consumptive limit for one day for one man, no matter how rich he may be.

A worker spends one-third of his income on food; the rich man spends less than one per cent on food. Perhaps saner and

more social distribution of incomes would quickly show that 250 "common people" with 15-dollar-a-day incomes could and would consume just about 250 times as much meat, fruit, vegetables and of cotton, woollen and linen goods as one fine fat tsar of finance could consume. Even I can see that.

*Fourth*, the recent economic ruin and near-ruin of vast numbers in the middle class very considerably shrinks their purchasing power for farm products in quality and quantity.

*Fifth*, millions are poor buyers. "The per capita consumption of beef in 1905 was 73 pounds; in 1929 (boom year) it was 51.4 pounds. The per capita consumption of wheat has been decreasing in the United States for years. In 1936 it was about 33% less than in 1900."

Consider this fact, you dairymen: In the boom year of 1929 the American people were eating more than 5½ times as much oleomargarine per capita as they consumed in 1905.\*

At least 20,000,000 American families could, should and would consume each year at least \$1000 worth more than at present in food, clothing and other products originating on the farm, if they had sufficient income. This would mean a 20 billion dollar increase in the home demands for farm products; whereas the total national consumption of food and clothing in 1929 (!) was only 25 billion dollars. It is admitted that millions now out of work will never be fully and normally employed again, but are doomed to some sorry sort of "made work," the new-style American serfdom, or "stabilized poverty." These millions and other millions sure to follow them, on part time, poor pay, nickel-pinching programs, will never be vigorous buyers of the farmer's products. Let the farmer read the chapter, LABOR AS GARBAGE, and realize how much domestic market he has lost in recent years because of the profit system.

*Sixth*, subsistence farms provided in increasing numbers for the defeated and desperate, mean that vast numbers of potentially excellent buyers will produce for themselves much of what they consume, and will never again enter the market to buy freely of the "commercial" farmers' products. Subsistence farms for the poor reduce the market and increase the product.

*Seventh*, imports from our insular possessions, such as sugar, tobacco, etc., and competitive imports from the Argentine, Canada, etc., are more and more cutting into the home market.

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\*From *Facts*, published by W. Scott Lewis.

†Dowell and Jesness, University of Minnesota: *The American Farmer and the Export Market*, pp. 105, 108-9.

The A. A. A. reduced corn production in 1934 by 10,000,000 acres; since then corn has been imported.\*

## Fact 11. THE GIANT FARM: A MENACE OR A BLESSING?

Operating a field-unit of 800 acres can be accomplished at a cost of \$7.77 per acre; but this per-acre operating cost is only \$3.82 on a 3000-acre field-unit. Of course the per-acre cost of operation rises threateningly as we drop down to the small field-unit we are accustomed to on farms of 320, or 160, or 80 acres. Thus the individual farmer on a small farm can not compete in price with the larger corporate farm.\*

On the 50,000-acre Montana farm operated by the Campbell Corporation with a labor-crew never exceeding 125 men, and with giant farm machinery, *two men* plow an acre of land 6 inches deep in 16 minutes at labor-and-power cost of 25 cents; and with a new Diesel engine, in 10 minutes at a labor-and-power cost of 12 cents. *Two men* can seed one acre of wheat in 3 minutes; *two men* can harvest an acre in less than 10 minutes at less than 10 cents cost.\*\*

Whether we do or do not think well of the large-unit plan of production, we should do well to look ahead somewhat, because *in so far as our agricultural welfare depends upon selling heavily in the world market*, we face a new factor in the determination of competitive world-market prices: the Giant Farm policy and technique, particularly as now illustrated in Russia. We have 200,000,000 high-grade acres that could be operated on the Giant Farm plan, and only a small percentage of this land is operated on that plan. Russia has five times as much high-grade land that can be so operated. At the recent and present rate of development Russia will be able within five or ten years to offer in the world market at least 300,000,000 bushels of wheat produced chiefly on the Giant Farm plan, at a cost not exceeding 50 cents a bushel. This huge export of wheat will set the price of wheat offered in the world market, and will also deeply affect the home market even in our own country. Russia is also ere long to be in the world market in a vast way with several other export products, such as other cereals, cotton, citrus fruits, beef, mutton and wool, produced chiefly on the Big-Farm plan.

\*"Facts for Farmers," by W. Scott Lewis, Hollywood, Calif.

\*America Faces the Future, edited by Chas. A. Beard; Ch. IX by Walter B. Pitkin, and Ch. II by Nicholas Murray Butler, President Columbia University.

\*\*Toward Civilization, by Chas. A. Beard.

By the way, Argentina and Australia are Giant Farm countries in a large way, and in 1934 these two countries exported 76,000,000 bushels more wheat than all of North America exported. In 1929 (our prosperous year) Argentina exported  $7\frac{1}{2}$  times as much corn as North America. In 1934 North America exported 457 *thousand* bushels of corn and the Argentine exported 218 *millions*, or 477 times as much. No wonder the Argentine helps kill off the European market for American wheat, beef, and the like.

I am not at all urging the adoption of the Giant Farm plan for the United States, but I am pointing out the nonsense of ignoring what's happening in countries concerning which politicians seek to fill us full of windy and foolish prejudice, while the world marches on, our market vanish, our problems grow, our burdens increase, and the statesman quietly draws his \$10,000 a year for kidding us. On thorough investigation it *may* become evident to a near-future generation of Americans that the small-farm, small-field, small-tractor, two, three or four-gang plow, petty reaper, etc., are "horse-and-buggy" means and methods; and that just as the sickle and cradle wheat-cutting implements gave way to the six-foot binder, so the small-farm unit and the ten-foot binder must (as far as practicable) give way to the large-farm unit with its 20 or 30 or 35-foot header, thresher, loader, etc.

Of course this clashes with our sentiment, which interferes with fearless investigation. Knowing this, the average politician is likely to side-step all discussion of these facts, or simply indulge in useless sentimental flattery. The average congressman would even congratulate a farmer who had only "20 acres and a mule" if that would favorably affect the farmer's vote. It has long been noted that no man will fight for a boarding house, but he will for a two-room, frost-bitten cabin.

Exactly! even if the farmer and his family were pinched and stricken in poverty, his children utterly desolated in ignorance, and life a dismal grind.

You and I, however, must get the facts, and face them, no matter what they are. Unhappily, the agricultural professor, knowing our sentiment for the dear little old farm, is greatly hindered in cold-bloodedly (scientifically) setting the facts before us. Sentiment often balks investigation. Even my mention of the giant-farm policy in Russia (and to a considerable extent in Argentina) will make some of my readers angrily exclaim, "Bah! Russia! Communist!" Yet force of circumstances and the common sense and the dollars and cents of low-

cost mass production will, very probably, lead millions of farmers to think long, hard and fast on this serious future farm problem,—small-unit farming.

The small farm on which I was raised, with its ten and twenty acre wheatfield and cornfield, was beautiful sentimentally; but it wasn't scientific in size, ways or means. Perhaps, some day, it will be devoted wholly to timber or fruit, or all pasture, who knows?

The most dangerous thing we can do about this fact is to do nothing but sit back and look wise, puffed up with vanity and sentiment, saying to ourselves, "Don't worry. We, being Americans, are always right and have nothing to fear."

The next fact in our present situation is so wide and deep that it is revolutionary in our lives. Here it is:

### Fact 12. NO MORE FREE LAND.

The nation's supply of good free land is all gone—taken! We, and hereafter our children, can't side-step and run away from our difficulties (as many millions heretofore have done) by moving on out west and taking up a good free farm, a "160."

"Good-bye! I'm off for the great out west! Me for a farm and a farm for me, to be an independent citizen, my job sure, abundant food, clothing and shelter and a nice fat balance in the bank all cinched. I can laugh at care and twiddle my thumbs at industrial masters. I'll defend my wife, defend my children, and be a man, look level into the eyes of all other men, unafraid of any other man or all other men."

These thoughts, these hopes, these plans, these urges, these splendid ambitions and aspirations, have thrilled the souls of millions of Americans, young and old. In those days of long ago, millions of cornered, discontented wage-earners could trek "out west," get a farm, and enjoy considerable independence. But the world turned over and turned the wage-earner upside down: he couldn't trek west, get a farm and freedom.

For many thousands of years human hordes, hard pressed, have saved the situation by moving on. In the hungry hunt for land, for a strip of the earth from which to wring a living, a place on which to stand and make the struggle for existence,—man, hungry and daring, has marched, fought his way, around the earth in all directions, swept all seas, conquered and settled continents. In the land-hunger rush around the earth, looking for a place to make a living, the white man marching westward around the world, has come face to face with the hard-pressed yellow man coming up on the other side of the earth, spreading, marching eastward around the world.



The swift march across North America has been dramatic,—magnificent. Many millions have marched through the great gate of opportunity spread wide open for two centuries from the Gulf to the Great Lakes; have marched away from pressure and oppression to free-land opportunity. One generation got land for nearly less than nothing. Even as late as 1893 much good land was given away. Then came a generation paying, but they got good land, as in Iowa, for \$50 and less per acre, with plenty for the sons and daughters. During the life of another generation land ran up to \$100 or \$250 per acre with no good free land or good cheap land. The Oklahoma Strip with soil from one to three feet deep, thrown open in the early 90's as free to the first comers, on a given date, was *the last "good free land" handed out by Uncle Sam*. The "Strip Rush" was swift, wild and fierce for the *last chance*. A little later, when the government offered some land for sale at Rosebud, South Dakota, to settlers, *seven times as many would-be settlers* gathered for the sale, to *buy* land, seven times over! as there was land for them.

Never again! The rush for "good free land" in the United States has closed . . . forever!

Father, mother, son, daughter on the farms,—*read the signs* that reach to the sky from ocean to ocean:

"Coal lands . . . Taken!"

"Oil lands . . . Taken!"

"Best forest lands . . . Taken!"

"Best sheep lands . . . Taken!"

"Agricultural lands . . . Taken!"

Henceforth:

1. If the farmer's surplus children go to the city to win, they find the professions and trades crowded; wages, real wages, shrinking; the struggle bitter.
2. If the old home farm (none too large) is divided for the children, obvious difficulties multiply.
3. If the farmer's surplus children buy farms, they are sentenced to a long-term mortgage prison, and no pardons.
4. No more moving out west to a good free "160."

The march ends. The gate closes. The dream dies. The curtain falls.

And now the curtain rises on a new drama, fiercer than ever,—no side-stepping, no ducking "on out west," or beating it to the city, the crowded city. In and because of the new revolu-

tionized situation, **YOU MUST FIGHT IT OUT WHERE YOU ARE!**

Oh, sun-burnt sons of the soil, there's more of this story.

Fact 13. THE FARMER'S INTENSE INDIVIDUALISM seems to obscure the realization of the new situation, which requires and compels more and more co-ordinated co-operative effort and attitude of man toward man. This individualistic attitude is perfectly natural and understandable (and forgivable), fostered as it was through more than a century of heroic but futile effort to become a near-rich "independent farmer."

"Independent American farmers!" that's the bunk they use to dope us, divide us and defeat us. Independent farmers! Yes siree! That's what we are! Look at us,—flattered and chiseled and cornered, and flat on our backs.

This individualism sorely interferes with the farmer's adjustment to the new situation.

There's a helpful hint for us on the get-together idea in the fact that if we failed to employ the principle and policy of large-scale co-operative effort in fighting insect pests, American agriculture, fruit-raising and stock-raising would be just about wiped out in ten or twenty years. We might try this idea on professional flatterers, the 10,000-dollar-a-year politicians. If the fruit-growers of California had not long ago surrendered some of their "go-it-alone" individualism in order to co-operate in some measure with one another, they would have been wiped out long ago, completely ruined. In the old days of no co-ordinated collective action among California fruit-raisers, the railway and wholesaler middlemen-bandits, in thousands of cases, *sent a bill for balance due* on freight, storage and commission, after said bandits had taken *all that carloads of oranges and other fruits sold for in eastern markets*. Individualistic and unco-operative, too timid to try mutualism with his fellow-workers, the California fruit raiser stood absolutely helpless as against the all-powerful group who parasitically, and legally, fatten on the efforts of *all who work*.

They learned this lesson, one of their lessons; and today the resulting very powerful California Growers Association can collectively defend itself successfully before the Interstate Commerce Commission as far as the market. But it can *not* create sufficient market for all the long train loads of splendid fruits they are eager and able to produce. That's another lesson for the farmers to learn in collectivism; and, believe me, they *will* learn that lesson too, and prosper then.

Fact 14. THE GEOGRAPHICAL VASTNESS OF OUR COUNTRY, with its numerous highly local climatic variations, makes co-operative organization difficult, especially on the *industrial field*.

To illustrate:—Even two highly organized regional groups (each powerful in self-defense), in California and in Florida, widely separated geographically, find it difficult to get together in perfect sympathetic understanding,—with Florida quite naturally eager to profit from her two-thousand-mile advantage in freight charge to the best market. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that, under the wildly competitive system of production for profits, with no thought, no hope, no plan of splendid national mutualism, a crop-and-livestock failure with its disaster and misery, *east* of the Mississippi River would benefit with higher profits the farmers *west* of the Mississippi River. And an orange-and-lemon blight in California means “good business” for orange growers in Florida.

Fact 15. FARMERS UNAWARE OF SOME IMPORTANT THINGS.

The American farmer is unconscious of some things enormously important to him and his sons and daughters who are to “fight it out” on the farm. He is unconscious that an overwhelming majority of the farmers and their families constitute the first of the *two grand divisions of the working class*; unconscious that he and his children and grandchildren, as farmers, are surrounded, cornered, somewhat as the wage-and-salary workers in the cities and towns are surrounded and cornered; unconscious that the curtain has been rung down on the old conditions, and the dream must die,—the dream of being an independent farmer, *under the profit system*.

The farmers as a whole are unconscious that *all workers* have interests as a class; unconscious that the two great groups of the working class should combine for defense, combine with deep and fraternal understanding on the industrial field to the limit possible under the present system, and combine as a class on the political field, where they can unite their 30 to 40 million ballots in a PARTY OF THEIR OWN AS WORKERS, and thus the two great groups of the working class command the whole situation. With a political party of their own class they can *legally take possession of the legal right to do legally whatever they believe should be done in the interest of those who work*.

The products of the farm embody the labor-life of the

farmer, just as the machinery and other manufactures he buys embody the labor-life of the other workers in the mines, forests and factories. And these two great groups of producer-workers are kept apart politically by misunderstanding, and kept apart as buyers and sellers of each other's products by the stupid profit system controlled by organized parasites. And thus, generation after generation, they must toil and trudge across the sweat-stained stage of life, defeated, until they realize their brotherhood, their membership in the same class, and mutually, loyally, proudly and defiantly defend themselves AS ONE CLASS.

Fortunately the misunderstanding between the farmers and the city folks is passing away, as far as the city workers and the thoughtful farmers are concerned, as they increasingly realize that the so-called "independent farmer" and the "free American working man" (in the city) are neither free nor independent.

Both are workers.

Both are fleeced.

Both are cornered, surrounded.

Both are doomed under the capitalist system.

## Fact 16. THE PROFIT SYSTEM IS BASED ON SCARCITY.

The American farmers, six million of them, have the best and most extensive agricultural plant in the world. The people need what the farmers are eager and able to produce in abundance for all. Likewise, the city workers produce the best and the plenty of the mill, mine, and factory products. The farmer would like to use urban wage-labor products abundantly, and the urban wage-earner would gladly use farm products abundantly; but neither the farmers nor the city workers are permitted to consume the best and plenty of the things they produce and you produce. Thus the market for wage-labor in the city is glutted, and the market for products of farm labor is also glutted.

What's the matter? Just this:

The plundered farmer is a poor buyer; he is able and eager to produce abundance for everybody, but, forced to divide up, he can't buy plenty of what the wage-earners produce. Likewise the wage-earners are poor buyers. They produce plenty for everybody, but, forced to divide up, they can't buy plenty of what the farmers produce.

Both the farmer and the wage-earner must humbly ask:

What *must* we take for what we sell?

What *must* we pay for what we buy?

An organized band of bleed-and-plunder profit-gougers legally operates in between the farmers and the urban consumers of products originating on the farm. This constant present outrage upon producers and consumers of farm products, this alone far exceeds the petty British taxes that teased and roused and fired the proud George Washington to become the most distinguished rebel and best loved revolutionist in the western world. George had pride; also courage. Leading British citizens called him a "bum," and his soldiers "dirts reds." Most of his soldiers were farmers.

The farmer has been bluffed by the bankers, skinned by the farm machinery trust, gypped by the railways, and, like the wage-earner, has been so buffaloed with piffle about over-production that he forgets that in the towns and cities there are many millions eager to buy his products, and buy abundantly, but kept too poor to do so. (A survey by the Bureau of Home Economics shows that now, in 1937, approximately one out of every four families in the United States subsists on a diet inadequate to maintain good health. The reason given was "economic pressure." This was reported in the *Los Angeles Evening News*, July 19, 1937.—F. H. K.)

### HOPELESS

Till the great mass of farmers effect a direct and close combination with the great mass of those who *buy the bulk* of what the farmers produce, and who *produce the bulk* of what the farmers buy,—till then, the gloom will thicken over agriculture, fruit-raising and stock-raising, and the farmers and their families will not sleep in the sleeper, dine in the diner or in the best hotels, and order the best of everything. Ninety per cent of the American farmers and their children are surrounded, cornered, booked for defeat, until they realize distinctly that they are overworked, legally *plundered workers*, and *as a class* defend themselves by defending the plundered working class.

A few of the farmers, good citizens too, belong wholly to the capitalist class; some of them belong "partly to both classes and wholly to neither"; but the fate and future of the 90% of them are what interests me most.

Unorganized politically, as a grand division of the nation's worker-producer class, the farmers are more easily victimized by the capitalist class and their subsidized statesmen. The ruthless liquidation and let-down of the American farmers in 1920 was one of the cruellest performances in American history, and it was put over without apology or decent explanation by the farmers' famous "friends."

As buyers and sellers, farmers can't rig up a monopoly to win, in the game of capitalism. But the producing farmers and the producing wage-earners could easily, legally and swiftly **unite their class might** in a political party of the working class, and thus legally get into legal position to make all the rules of the game of industry wholly in favor of the workers only, and all of us produce plenty and enjoy plenty. As soon as the farmers agree that plenty of the best is not too much or too good for themselves and not too much or too good for all others who work, there will be need of extension and speed-up of farm production, and they will never again have to do the shameful thing: burn, bury or pollute thousands of tons of fine food because of lack of market.

### THE PROFIT SYSTEM DOES NOT NEED A DOCTOR, BUT A GRAVE-DIGGER

The system of production for profits places an artificial, arbitrary restriction on purchasing power of scores of millions of our citizens all over the world, who are eager to buy far more of our products. Petty wages for the ditch-digger, the lumberman and the twelve-year-old girl and her mother in a South Carolina cotton mill, boosts the profits for the "economic royalists"; but those same mean wages shrink our markets and thus *our* lives, as well as the lives of those abused in the forests, mines, factories, ships and offices, and on trucks and trains.

As long as the national government is controlled by those who believe that *plenty is too much for the workers*, just so long the reward of the workers (their purchasing power) will continue to be less,—far less than plenty to buy plenty; and consequently, the market for farm products will continue to be far, far less than it could be and should be.

That's settled.

Well, then, it is to be distinctly realized by the farmers that the master beneficiaries of the profit system have always held, and hold now, that *plenty is too much for the multitude of common people*.

**PRODUCTION FOR USE**, production for large, generous use of our nation's resources by all who work,—this is the only way out.

If all workers were rewarded with plenty to buy plenty,—then plenty, peace, security and good cheer would bless *all the homes of the sons of toil*, both on the farms and in the cities and towns.

Farmers, THERE'S THE MARKET,—A 20-BILLION-DOLLAR INCREASE in the farmers' home market.

When the farmers unite with their class they will need no mercy from the gods, the plutes or the politicians. They will proudly claim, take and enjoy the best the earth affords,—tomorrow. But today they are stalled, stung and betrayed, as usual, with the other sons of toil. United and cooperative, these two great groups of the working class would be invincible,—easily able, in the state and national legislatures, to arrange legally the rules of production and distribution on a plan of Mutualism, National Cooperation, each of the two vast groups of actual workers splendidly served by the other, with plenty for everybody,—everybody except the parasitic loafers and looters.

But production for use will never be inaugurated except by the workers; and the workers can never inaugurate the system of production for use until they are in full possession of the powers of government, and thus in position to do legally as they please for the workers, just as the masters have done for themselves.

At times I have been pretty blue, *but no more*. This is a good world. I like it. I'd die before I'd leave it. Indeed, I'd give the last six months of my life to live a hundred years longer. Frankly, I'm prejudiced against death; moreover, I'm keen to stay and see the show,—the greatest shown on earth, right here in the United States, within the next ten years, when the workers on the farm (them's us) and the workers in the towns and cities get together *as workers, for the workers, with a plan of plenty for workers, because they are workers*.

Aye, aye! You just wait till the workers on the farms and the workers in the towns and cities,—all of us, learn that *of course* more than fifteen million grown-up men and women on the farms should fill *half the seats in the national legislature with men and women from their own ranks*;—wait till all of us realize also that the other half of the seats in the national legislature should, of course, be filled by *men and women who work*,—work in laboratories as production engineers, chemical engineers, civil engineers, and so on,—men and women who work in the mills, mines, forests, factories, offices, school rooms, and on the trucks and trains,—a legislature filled by the workers from men and women from their own ranks, a national legislature of the workers, by the workers, for the workers!

Certainly. Hold up your chins. Tighten your lips.

It's coming! A movement sweeping across the world to right the wrongs that curse the sons of the soil and all the other sons of toil.

Blue? Bah! No!

Stick around, and soon your ears will ring and your heart will sing when you begin to hear the *two great groups* of the working class calling, calling, calling each to the other,

"Brothers! Brothers! Our right hands in yours!

"Divided we're stung!

"United we stand!

"Let's unite and fight!

"Together we win!!"



## CHAPTER XI

### CUT IT OUT

#### PROFITS!!!

In 1916 thousands of French and German cannon were so situated that they could have brought the war to a speedy close by opening full fire on certain mines and munition plants absolutely necessary for continuing the war. But the eager, wildly eager, artillery-men were not permitted to smash the mines and plants and so end the war.

Why?

Because these mines and plants were owned and operated for profits,—owned jointly by English, French and German capitalists, and the war was *profitable* for them. Through their influence in national legislatures, commanding generals were ordered not to allow these mines and plants to be destroyed. This prolonged the war two years, cost 5,000,000 lives and 200 billion dollars (half profits) more than if it had been closed in 1916. This is now admitted.<sup>1</sup>

This is the lust, this lust for profits, which under the sacred profit system is to be satisfied only by turning big business loose to rape the country for profits in the name of "sacred incentive." This is the lust for unlimited profits which is the "proper incentive" for business men. Unless this lust is satisfied business confesses captains of industry and financiers will not serve society. This is the lust, this profit lust, that slams factory doors in the faces of millions of willing workers and thrusts a dozen million desperate workers into the street. This crude, cruel, brutal lust for profits is held up to society as the only *sufficient* motive to induce a "business" man to do his best for the society that permits him to live and protects his property.

GYP, GYP, GYP!

CLIP, CLIP, CLIP!

Profits all along the line, beginning with raw material.

All raw material comes from the earth. The earth is a gift of nature. Society should pay no rake-off to any of its members for simply **owning** the earth.

Let me illustrate:

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<sup>1</sup>Helmuth Carol Engelbrecht: *Merchants of Death*, Chapters XI and XII.

Mining engineers and geologists report that the available recoverable coal supply yet remaining in Illinois is 238 billion tons. If sold at only \$1.50 a ton net profit the known supply in the coal beds of Illinois would provide a handsome living *without work*, \$7300 a year, for each of 100,000 families for 489 years. This would be their reward, not for working, but for owning the mines while they played golf and bridge, rode horseback, attended opera, ate fine food, lived in fine houses, had house servants and wore good clothes, for nearly 500 years, under the profit system. There would be a little extra expense occasionally for bribing politicians and paying for having the miners clubbed, gassed, jailed and shot if they objected to this vile parasitism, when they compared their own pale-faced children with the rosy-cheeked children of the twenty-dollar-a-day parasites.

This illustrates the gypping system called capitalism, or the profit system, in which the gypping (fleecing, gouging, or legalized robbing) is accomplished by simply *owning* certain forms of wealth. Such gypers are called "leading business men," their wives are prominent social leaders, their sons are "promising" and their daughters are called belles. The miners are regarded as Mutts, their wives are just "plain working women," and their sons and daughters are looking for jobs, so they can be gypped by the gypers.

The children of the present private owners of this coal supply will fall heir to this vast wealth, *without work*, and hand it on by inheritance to their children (under capitalism),—on and on for centuries.

Do the owners of the Illinois mines ever even mention plenty for the miners?

No! Certainly not. The Illinois mines are operated, not for fairer, fuller lives for the miners, but for profits for the owners.

The total remaining coal supply of the United States (somewhat more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  trillion tons), sold at an average of \$1.50 per ton profit, would yield the equivalent of \$7200 a year for 730,000 families for 1000 years, just for *owning* one of Nature's vast gifts, while producing nothing.

Thus, under the profit system, in this one industry a class inherits the privilege and power, also the habit and inclination, to saddle and ride the weary workers for 1000 years, calling themselves the "best people," and despising the idea of plenty for the workers, whom they ride, rule, rob and ruin.

Of course the present owners are content to gyp society by

simply owning this vast store of wealth (!) and of course they want you to be contented with the profit system; and they do not want you to read this book, because you might get the dangerous idea that plenty is too much for leeches and loafers, and plenty is not too much for the working people.

Under a plan of cooperative mutualism the coal supply, splendid gift of Nature, would belong to society for the service of workers only. Then the loafers, private owners of the mines, would have to go to work or starve,—no more living by gyping.

Please read the facts of this coal illustration to your neighbor won't you? Perhaps he innocently thinks our "captains of industry" and "generals of finance" are really great. Tell him they are great as a lion is great at the throat of his victim; great as a shark is great grasping his struggling prey;—they are great in appetite for profit, great in cruelty in their ruthless rush for profits,—great indeed as they sneer at their wronged, helpless victims; great as they prepare to slaughter those toilers who in high, proud courage demand all of life now made possible by science; very specially great, are they not?—as they have stood for eight years open-mouthed, drooling, puzzled, bewildered, stupidly staring at the chaos wrought by their own swinish selfishness, pompously pondering "What to do!" when any shivering child can give the one sane and sufficient answer:

Produce and distribute plenty for everybody, not for profits, but for social service.

### INTEREST AND DIVIDENDS

The total interest rake-off is enormous in this wonderful country. In the eight years closing in 1929 the nation's long-term debts increased 93% (in addition to the national debt). In 1932 the total debt claims in this country amounted to 218 billion dollars, which was nearly half of the estimated "paper wealth" of 1929 (when values were at the highest). That debt was about three times the debt-burden of pre-war times.\*

In the next year the total debt was estimated to be about 250 billion dollars, "and approximately one fourth of the annual national income is used to pay the interest on these debts."\*

All this helps us understand how soft the saddle is for those who ride.

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\*Harold Rugg: *The Great Technology*, p. 117.

\*Rugg and Krueger: *Social Reconstruction*, p. 67.

## DO YOU KNOW?

That the interest-bearing debt of the world increased  
 47 per cent in the 17th century,  
 466 per cent in the 18th century,  
 52,000 per cent in the 19th century,  
 and that in 1929 the total was 700,000 million dollars?

## BONDS

Interest income on bonds in 1930 was 2.4% higher than in '29,  
 in 1931 . . 99.5% higher than in '29,  
 in 1932 . . 96.7% higher than in '29.

Here are some samples of long-time bonds as reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 19, '37, under "New York Bond Prices":

	Rate	Year Due.	Time to Run.
Am. & For. P...	5's .....	2030 .....	93 years
Lehigh Valley...	4's, 4½'s and 5's.....	2003 .....	66 "
L & N.....	5's, 4½'s, 4's and 3¾'s.....	2003 .....	66 "
N. Y. Central...	5's and 4½'s.....	2013 .....	76 "
No. Pacific .....	6's, 5's, 4½'s, 4's and 3's.....	2047 .....	110 "
West Shore .....	4's .....	2361 .....	424 "

## BANK CHISELERS

On June 28, 1935, about 16,000 bankers had aggregate deposits of \$57,000,000,000. The Federal Reserve Banks and their members own at least 17 billion dollars of our public debt, which bears interest at approximately 4%. These bankers by lending *other* people's money (deposits) have "made" 17 billions out of nothing, and each year rake out of the taxpayers' pockets 680 million dollars net, and still have the 17 billions! And they can hand on the claims (in one form or another) forever!

## FALSE "VALUES"

The wealth of the United States in 1929 was about 450 billion dollars. (A large amount of this was "paper" wealth, but the paper represented claims on the real wealth.) It suddenly shrank 185 billions,—yet the actual physical wealth remained about the same.

The "value" of stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange increased 13,000 million dollars in eleven months of 1936. But this had nothing to do with the actual wealth-pro-

ducing efficiency of the nation's production plant. The locomotives remained practically the same; the amount of actual coal and oil was less than the year before.

On September 3, 1929, shares of New York Central were "worth"  $256\frac{3}{8}$ ; but in 1932 they were down to  $8\frac{3}{4}$ . Was the New York Central Railroad really worth nearly thirty times as much in 1929 as it was in 1932?

Buying and selling does not produce value. If buying and selling a thing increased its value, then a hat could have its value multiplied easily up to \$500 simply by buying and selling it a few dozen times. Value in an automobile is created by the men who mine, haul, smelt and mould the necessary metals, assemble the parts, make and apply the necessary paints, varnishes, etc., etc., and physically carry and deliver the finished product to the consumer. Similarly with bread, meat, clothing, houses, etc.

### THE BIGGEST BUSINESS IS THE BIGGEST FRAUD

But behold! while buying and selling a thing creates no value in it, still the greatest business in the largest city in the richest country on earth is buying and selling stocks and bonds on the New York City Stock Exchange, where big-headed and pin-headed business men gamble with our country's products as "men" on their checker board. An American corn crop has been bought and sold as many as *eighteen times* before it was harvested, which surely did not increase its value. In 1929 many millions of dollars' worth of stocks were bought and sold over and over as they skyrocketed up—up—up; and they were also bought and sold over and over again as they collapsed going down—down—down!

### BIG BIRDS AND LITTLE BIRDIES

Suppose a flock of "big boys" own a nice railroad that actually cost 100 million dollars, issuing to themselves, each ten millions in preferred stocks, on which the business is paying 10%; then suppose they "increase their capital" (water the stock) by selling 100 million dollars' worth of additional stock at par. Now they have sold these new stocks for what the road cost them and put the money into their pockets; and still they own half the railroad! Things like this have been done hundreds of times by the big birds to the little birdies.

Then, also, since the original stockholders do the managing, they can "run the road lean" and freeze out the little birdies, who are glad to sell their common stock at a fearful sacrifice,

say 50% of cost. Then the big boys own all the road for half the original cost, and also have the 100 millions they got back for the watered stock.

When Harriman and his pals got control of the Chicago and Alton R. R. they increased its capitalization three-fold, and increased its bonded indebtedness 700%; then "made a market," peddled these stocks and bonds to the public at an enormous profit to themselves.

The United States Steel Corporation was capitalized at 1400 million dollars, based on property carefully estimated by the Commissioner of Corporations to be actually worth only 700 million dollars. In thirty years they collected:

\$3,680,729,700 (14% annual income for its capital contributors on their original investment)

plus \$1,978,123,236 for the holders of steel common.

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Total \$5,658,852,936.

Although no dividends were paid on the common stock of Bethlehem Steel from 1925 to 1928, nearly seven million dollars were paid to directors and executives. No wonder Schwab owned no common stock (at the time of consideration in New Jersey Chancery Court),—owned no *common* stock, but did own 43,866 shares of *preferred*.<sup>\*</sup>

Thus with millions of small investors being trimmed, squeezed and forced to sacrifice their stock holdings for a song, and 35 billions already lost to the Caesars of finance and industry, through legalized banditry of the stock market swindle, millions of the middle class and wage-earners are lashed into poverty.

### PUBLIC SERVICE(?)

When a street-railway's rates are determined by a State Railway Commission the railway is rated from two to five times its actual value, by counting "water stock" representing no actual investment whatever; then later the State Tax Commission estimates the railway far below its normal value. Thus the railway can sting the public with high service rates and low tax rates, by "seeing" a few members of the State Railway Commission and a few members of the State Tax Commission.

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<sup>\*</sup>Willis Mason West: *American Democracy*, p. 639; and T. S. Harding: *The National Taxeaters*, pp. xiii and 348.

## WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1850 our per capita wealth was \$383; in 1929 it was nearly \$4000 per capita,—over ten times as much as in 1850. There was one millionaire then; many now.\*

“We” may be a very rich people; but the bulk of the nation’s wealth belongs increasingly to a relatively smaller minority of the population. One per cent of our population own more of our property than the other 99%; and most of it is income property.

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\*Dexter S. Kimball: *Industrial Economics*, p. 11.

# WHO OWNS OUR COUNTRY?

“IF WE CONSIDER THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE

IN THE COUNTRY AT 100,

AND OUR WEALTH AT \$100,

WE FIND THAT

ONE PERSON HAS \$59

ONE HAS \$ 9

22 HAVE APPROXIMATELY \$ 1.25 EACH and

76 HAVE ONLY SEVEN CENTS EACH.

“When such a state of affairs exists, anything is possible.”

From a speech by Governor Earle of Pennsylvania to Legionaires, as quoted by the *Wisconsin Progressive*, September 7, 1935.



## INCOMES

The per capita income (in terms of the 1913 dollar) in 1860 was \$372; in 1929 it was \$418, an increase of \$46, or less than 13%, while the per-worker productivity increased 350%, or over 28 times as fast as the per capita income.

And consider this:

"From 1922 to 1929 those receiving annual incomes exceeding \$50,000 increased from 16,031 to 38,889, and their total income had increased 341%. These 38,889 received  $9\frac{2}{3}\%$  of their income in salaries and  $90\frac{1}{3}\%$  of their incomes from dividends and property. They received more money from dividends *alone* than all of the income of the 3,012,000 taxpayers with annual incomes under \$5000." Quotation from Senator Hugo S. Black, now Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The United States Bureau of Internal Revenue reported that in 1927 there were 34,695 persons with incomes of \$50,000 or more per year, while in the same year The National Bureau of Economic Research reported the average income of 35,000,000 wage and salaried workers was \$1205 per year; and that there was one millionaire for every 1000 workers in the country whose average weekly wage did not exceed \$27.17.

Even as far back as 1925, thirteen years ago, 376,293 American "somebodies" had annual incomes of \$10,000 *or more*, 82,000 of them received between \$25,000 and \$50,000, 33,000 of them received \$50,000 or more, and 11,000 of them received over \$100,000.

Yet in 1929, a boom year, only 15 out of every hundred workers received between \$2000 and \$5000,

81 out of every 100 workers got less than \$2000, and 19,400,000 workers each received less than \$1000.

One third of the nation's school teachers received less than \$700.

An analysis of the tax returns for 1936 made by the People's Lobby of Washington, D. C., shows that in that year 18,000 individuals had a total income of over \$2,214,000,000 (more than one thirtieth of the total national income), an average of over \$123,000 each.

## DIVIDING UP

"Wages under the competitive system . . . are what capitalists are ready to advance on the expectation of a future return."

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•Arthur Twining Hadley: *Economics*, p. 301, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Do you know that labor-cost is the most flexible, most easily beaten down? A study by the Standard Statistics Company, a conservative but accurate concern, reports labor costs in many industries. For example: the labor cost

in sugar refining is 3.7% of the total wholesale price.

in automobiles, 9.1%,

in iron and steel, 20.6%.

These fair samples will serve to show that increases in prices have very little to do with increases in wages.\*

Dr. Harold Loeb gives the total value of production for  
1929 as .....\$93,000,000,000  
labor income that year..... 53,000,000,000

Surplus.....\$40,000,000,000\*

Estimating about 36 million wage and salary workers in that year gives an average annual income of approximately \$1475 each.

In the year 1930 the employer class income *actually advanced* while the incomes of the working class collapsed; more than a dozen million workers were not permitted to work and earn at all.

In 1931 wages had slumped 38.6% from the 1929 level;  
interest had slumped  $\frac{1}{2}$  of one per cent.

In 1932 wages had slumped 60.8% and  
interest had slumped 3.3%.\*

The NRA Research and Planning Division reports that although payrolls in December, 1934, were only 60% of the 1926 level, and the volume of production had declined by a third, "the income enjoyed by those who received dividends and interest was 50% higher than in 1926." That is, in those eight years interest and dividends went up 50% and wages went down 40%."

The Council for Industrial Progress reports that the average wage for workers in manufacturing in 1936 was \$1042, while the average yearly productivity per worker amounted to \$2858.

#### INCREASE OF LARGE INCOMES

From 1923 to 1929 the 400,000 (approximately) who

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\*The American Guardian, Aug. 6, 1937.

\*Chart of Plenty, p. 141.

\*W. N. Polakov: The Power Age, p. 209.

\*Report of the Operations of the NRA, p. 24.

received \$10,000 or more increased their total revenues	76.6%
40,000 of these increased their total revenues.....	129.5%
4,000 of these increased their total revenues.....	207.5%
400 of these increased their total revenues.....	234.5%

The incomes of the upper levels have become normous.

In the year 1929, 631,000 families in the United States received a total income of \$21,580,000,000,—an average of \$34,000 each, which income, of course, released a great number of hearty and husky young men and women ("socialites") from productive effort. On two miles of Park Avenue, New York, in 1929 lived 2000 millionaires whose annual "living" expenses averaged \$84,000.

Hundreds of thousands of our "best people" consume much of their time and energy in consuming; these elegant chisellers, male and female parasites, live on the fat of the land, though "they toil not; neither do they spin." Despising the working class, they spend year after year in wining and dining and dancing, in preening and parading, in riding and hunting, in swimming and yachting, in lolling and strutting and loafing; and sometimes they "throw" a charity ball for those whom they industrially skin and socially despise as mere mechanics, farmers, school teachers, etc.

## 2000 MILES OF PILES

Back in 1921, the profit system permitted and protected an annual income of \$105,000,000 for John D. Rockefeller, Sr." At that time Mr. Rockefeller's fortune was equivalent to piles of gold, 1000 pounds in each pile, and one such pile every half mile from Ogden, Utah, to Boston, Mass. He owned vast stores of Nature's gifts for human use; and the steady stream of wealth, 105 millions a year, was his just for owning things, under the profit system. Of course by giving *tens* of millions to charity and universities, he could hold on to *hundreds* of millions without criticism, except from the thoughtful few.

Most people believe a cunning lie that is repeated over and over in various ways by ignorant or cowardly persons in influential places. Here it is:

"Brains and ability and 'good hard work' determine incomes under the profit system." Let us see.

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<sup>11</sup>Roger W. Babson, distinguished statistician and industrial specialist, in *The Mentor*, Nov., 1921.

IN 1920 HENRY FORD'S *DAILY* INCOME WAS 20 TIMES AS LARGE AS PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S *ANNUAL* INCOME.

6,500 cars at \$80 apiece profit = \$520,000 *daily*,  
80,000 employees of all kinds)  
at an average wage of \$6.25 = \$490,000 *daily*.

Consider it annually:

Ford's annual profits at this rate (300 days) .....	\$156,000,000
Preachers, 25,000 at \$6000 a year .....	\$150,000,000
Editors, 15,000 at \$10,000 a year .....	\$150,000,000
School Superintendents, 20,000 at \$7500 .....	\$150,000,000
University and College Presidents, 520 at \$10,000, and 20,000 University Professors at \$7000 (these two groups combined) .....	\$145,200,000
School Teachers, 60,000 at \$2400 (about twice the actual average salary) .....	\$144,000,000

Any one of these entire groups has a total income less than that of Henry Ford.

Of the men with big fortunes, Morgan, Baker, Stillman, J. D. Rockefeller, Wm. Rockefeller, Rogers, Harriman, W. H. Vanderbilt, Kern, Schiff,—not one of these was a college or university graduate, though Morgan was a student at Göttingen, Germany, for two years.

### DO YOU KNOW:

That the incomes of the very wealthy have steadily risen during the depression?

That generals, admirals, federal judges, on fine salaries for years, are retired on handsome pensions, while the "very ideal" of decent pensions for farmers, lumbermen, miners, factory workers, etc., meanly paid for a lifetime, is regarded as absurd? (The frequent argument that pensions and high salaries are necessary for judges to make them freer to give justice, brands them as potential crooks.)

That the children of John D. Rockefeller have a play-house that cost \$500,000?

That all the mills, mines, factories, natural resources, telephone, telegraph and railway systems will be handed over to the children of the present owners, by inheritance, for reaping rent, interest, and profit-incomes without work?

That more and more the radio broadcasting privileges are flatly (or by exorbitant fees) refused to those who wish to get facts such as these to the multitude?

What of letting Mellon fleece the government unpunished?  
of the du Pont 5000% rise on war business?  
of letting Insull run loose unpunished?  
of prolonging the World War two years beyond the  
time when the situation was such that free cannonad-  
ing of certain munition works would have made Ger-  
many collapse, and as a general result probably would  
have added TNT to the revolutionary fires?

In recent years the richest city in the world has boasted it was able to feed its unemployed on six cents a day per head! At the same time one little girl, Lucy Cotton Thomas,, was living on an allowance of more than \$36,000 a year (reduced to \$36,000 by the court!!)."

Washington, D. C., is completely under the management of Congress. In November, 1936, the *New York Times Tabulation* showed that dividends of industrial corporations reached their highest since 1931, while in January, 1936, relief administrators cut relief in the District of Columbia to \$22.50 per family per month!"

Even in relief in a disaster area, the Red Cross draws distinctions between the poor and the well-to-do, the instructions being to distribute relief "according to the pre-disaster standards of the recipient."

There is a vast amount of tax-dodging. According to Senator Patman of Texas, there are 50 billion dollars in bonds in the United States that pay no taxes. (Some of these are, of course, government bonds, which are exempt.)

And mark this:

When the world's leading banker-profitier,, who had snared his country into the World War to protect his bank's half-billion-dollar foreign investments,—when this financial dictator sneeringly boasts to a senatorial committee in the tragic time of his country's need, that he had paid no income taxes for three years, we have a vulgar and hideous exhibition of spiritual-social moronism produced by the profit-grabbing system. Though he was too dull to realize it, Mr. Morgan's stupid boast was a startling photograph of his swinishly greedy soul, freely exhibited by himself, with an ignorant grin of pride in having gypped his suffering fellow men.

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<sup>11</sup>*N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, Feb. 8, '33; and T. S. Harding: *The National Taxeaters*, p. 358.

<sup>12</sup>*The Nation*, Feb. 12, '36.

<sup>13</sup>See article by John L. Spivak, *Mercury*, Nov., '34.

## INHERITANCE OF FORTUNES

Just as a parasite appointed (elevated!) to a lordship by the chief parasite, one hundred or four hundred years ago, leaves a long line of lords, so the lords of business leave a long line of lords.

Just a few samples:

Two women, the Dodge widows, recently fell heir to \$150,000,000 worth of wealth without work.

Mr. Rockefeller's children and grandchildren have a mortgage on welfare: they are in a position to win the race of life without running the race, as long as they can successfully bribe the piffle-peddlers to defend the capitalist system and induce the workers to believe in the system.

## BUILDING THE PYRAMIDS—OF POWER

Wealth gives power,—power to get *more wealth*, which gives more power to get more wealth and more power,—more power to strip the working class and live on unearned income.

The power that a "start" gives a man to build up and pyramid his wealth-seizing, profit-grabbing power is shown in the case of the Vanderbilt fortune. In 1865 the Vanderbilt fortune was generally estimated at \$10,000,000; in 1877 when Commodore Vanderbilt died, it had increased to \$105,000,000. Of this he willed \$90,000,000 to his favorite son, William H., who with this splendid "start" doubled his bequest in seven years.

## DO YOU BELIEVE IN GIANTS?

A big business man just loves to be referred to as an "industrial giant." That's just what gives him the disease known as hypercephalicdistensia, commonly called "big head." But remember, these cephalically fat boys are the very birds that got us into this internationalhellofifax,—the depression. Here sting it into your brain:

### WHO DID IT?

These "giants" have had complete control of industry for a long time, and they were in full control of America's industrial jungle in 1929." That vast collapse and this hideous depression can *not* be charged against the sweating workers and the ruined farmers. All of these stood ready to fill the land with plenty. The workers had nothing to do with getting industry *on the rocks for lack of markets*.

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<sup>11</sup>"More and more the reins of control of the nation passed into the hands of the industrial barons, until in 1929, at the time the recent depression descended like an avalanche, they were thoroughly in the saddle and riding in almost whatever direction pleased their fancy."—*The American Farm Policy*, p. 17, by Wilson Gee, published by W. W. Norton & Co.

Our physical national production plant is almost wholly private property,—of a class shrinking in numbers and increasing in power. According to Gardner C. Means, member of Hoover's Research Commission, less than two thousand men, many of whom were inactive, were directors of the two hundred largest corporations, which controlled between 35 and 45 per cent of the business of the country in 1927, and these corporations are growing three times as fast as the population. He estimates that if the rate of growth of these large corporations and of the national wealth (from 1924 to 1927) were to continue, half of the national wealth, most of it production wealth, will be owned by two hundred giant corporations by 1950."

J. Taney Wilcox, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Railroad, holds the distinction of being an official of 109 companies! H. L. Doherty, a year ago, was director in a total of 95 companies,—reduced to 65 in 1937."

How much further will such concentration of ownership of our national production plant go?

But here we must ask a question of the "giants," the brilliant captains of industry:

What about the millions of desperate men and women, hungry, patched, ragged,—surrounded, swamped, choked with the ever greater plenty they have produced, or stand ready to produce? What about the millions of despairing mothers, millions of embittered youths, millions of helpless sucklings, millions of wee maids and lads,—a helpless, meanly nourished multitude hanging on the cross of want, in plain sight of easily possible plenty for all?

What do you say, gentlemen?

Their answer is: "Nonsense! That's mere sentiment! and '*there is no sentiment in business*,'—business for profits. 'Social service'? ridiculous! 'Production for use and plenty to use'? Mere bunk! Ha, ha, ha! Hurrah for profits! Mr. Superintendent, lock the factory doors, and keep them locked against the unemployed until *we* feel *sure* we can make a *profit* on the Mutts and Jeffs called 'Labor.' We are business men, in business for profits; and of course we control business—for profits—for us."

Thus say the nation's strutting captains of industry. This is the law and the gospel in the modern human jungle called "business." Let us learn that unforgettably. To this end, let

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<sup>10</sup>*Recent Social Trends*, Vol. I, p. 249; *The American Economic Review*, March, 1931; *The National Taxeaters*, by T. S. Harding, p. 347; and an article by Chas. A. Beard in *The Forum*, July, '31.

<sup>11</sup>*Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 21, 1937.

us study a little further the fiery blast from hell in 1929.

When in October, 1929, "hell broke loose" in industry, it was as if mile-high flames had belched from hell and shriveled national social welfare, destroying health and wealth and hope and cheer in many millions of homes. Not counting labor-loss, the shrinkage in values in stocks, bonds, small business enterprise, real estate, etc., from October, 1929, to October, 1931, amounted to 185 billion dollars. Hideous exhibition of the nation's industry so "brilliantly" managed by "big" men, men of "brains and ability," you understand.

"Big" men! with small purposes, socially blind;—big, blundering, egoistic egotists, mere profit-urged, profit-mad lions and jackals of our industrial jungle, ready to ruin honest men and women, ready to ruin the nation's eager youth, ready to sign, seal and guarantee the defeat of millions of sucklings and babes unborn, ready to break the nation's heart, ready to peddle the Republic for power, place and plunder! while scores of millions have been belittled, and a quarter of a million Americans in wild despair have quit the profit-damned world by suicide.

I have ungenerously neglected to mention the financial giants, the big, big bankers, who know everything—yes, really everything. Well, here's a brief sample paragraph concerning these giant geniuses:

From 1863 to 1903, 4004 solid-as-a-rock *National Banks* failed in the United States, and God only knows how many state and "private" banks failed in the same forty years. From 1921 through 1932, 10741 banks failed in this fair land, with 5000 million dollars of liabilities; and 5000 of these were still closed five months after President Roosevelt had rushed to the rescue *to prevent all of them from collapsing* in a general national disaster, and 1100 of these 5000 were the Rock of Gibraltar *Federal Reserve Banks* that "just couldn't fail." Of course not. Giants manage them all. But the ruin they spread can never be told.

Now listen, reader, while Uncle George tells you something the giants hope will never reach your brain,—something about markets. Here we go:

In 1930-31 business was slashed by the giants, who fired ten million workers, forced millions more on part time, "broke" millions of farmers, and sent gloom, suffering and despair into many millions of homes, because (as the giants explained) there was "insufficient market"; that is, market in which to sell AT A PROFIT. Remember the slash—\$35,000,000,000,—the cruel



slash made by the giants, who then set up a whine: "Boo-hoo-hoo! where, *where*, WHERE can we find a market so we can *keep business booming?*"

Well, now, suppose that in 1930 we had had less faith in giants and more faith in justice, and had had sense enough to say, "Since the workers are able and willing to produce plenty, let them go ahead and produce plenty and enjoy plenty. Let *vast increased incomes* to the workers furnish the *vast increase of markets* needed.

Then, with this new plan of production for welfare (that is, for USE instead of for PROFITS), if we had simply increased the incomes of 40,000,000 workers by \$3 a day for 300 days, the workers' purchasing power would have climbed 36 billion dollars higher. This would have increased the market \$36,000,000,000, which would have prevented the \$35,000,000,000 slash and the collapse of industry. Now, reader, don't tell anybody I told you that secret. Of course the giants know that secret, but it would annoy them to have the secret get all around among the workers; for (they tell us) the giants are our "betters."

I have shown you on an earlier page that we could now produce not simply the 90-billion-dollar output that we did produce in 1929, but actually a 153-billion-dollar output of goods and services. Well, if, instead of a \$3 a day raise in income, a raise of \$8.20 a day were given to 40 million workers (for 300 days) we should thus raise the market 98 billion dollars, which would make it equal to our potential 1937 production capacity of 153 billion dollars. See?

But of course as long as the workers are too blind to see plenty, too meek to want plenty, too tame to demand plenty, and still believe in giants, the profit-stuffed giants, we shall go on with production for profits; and there will never be any such splendid boosting of the welfare of the workers. Get it straight, *never*. Please help me tell 'em so.

Did you ever look at a giant, reader? It's a really wonderful animal, 'n knows everything. At least all of them know that plenty is too much for you. Do you agree with them?

A little later I shall show you that President Roosevelt, his cabinet, the Senate and the House of Representatives, all of them agree with the giants that plenty is too much for you.

Now, reader, quietly take your choice: giants or justice.—production **for profits** for the thick-skinned, cold-blooded giants, or production **for use** by the workers. Think it over, reader. Think it through. Is less than plenty reasonable, fair or just, when we can produce plenty?

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—FROM WAR—WHAT FOR?

## CHAPTER XII

### NOT PERMITTED—STUNG!

#### DIVIDING UP, A FIVE-MINUTE HISTORY OF LABOR

(including the farmers.)

Society can be organized and conducted, industrially, for one of two purposes: for the special benefit of part of the people, or for the benefit of all the people. It can not be organized and conducted for both of these purposes at the same time. Historically, society has been organized and managed in three different ways for the special benefit of part of the people.

For tens of thousands of years, in inter-tribal, "international," wars the practice of the victors was: No quarter! No prisoners! Kill to the last man! Then came a happy thought, quickly appreciated: *Use* the enemy instead of killing them. Use them as living tools and as human machines. That thought changed the whole course of human history: from that time until now a ruling class has ruled, ridden and robbed a working class, forcing the working class to *divide up*.

Then came a revolution: instead of taking no prisoners they took as many as possible, saved them alive and set them to work, as work animals. The defeated tribe became chattel slaves, a servile working class, and included farmers. The victorious tribe became the ruling class. Promptly society was industrially organized from top to bottom on this basis, or class plan. This was the origin of the working class, and the origin of the class struggle, — the workers, whenever they were proud enough, struggling to be free, unrobbed of the fruits of their toil, the masters struggling to hold the workers in slavery, to be robbed.

SLAVERY WAS THE FIRST FORM AND METHOD OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT for the simple and terrible purpose of enabling a ruling class to force a working class to divide up, the masters always taking as their share all, — all, but sufficient to keep the workers in working condition. This chattel slave form of society was the prevailing form in nearly all the world for thousands of years. Black men, brown men, yellow men, and white men, scores of millions of them were held as slaves.

In the days of ancient Rome ships were propelled with long

oars, one or two slaves at each oar. If a slave got sick or wounded, unable to pull his oar, he was quickly pitched into the water to drown as if he were a broken oar, just as a broken wheel in a modern factory is quickly removed and scrapped. Cicero, Rome's most eloquent statesman, called the worker a "machine that can talk."

SERFDOM WAS THE SECOND SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL FORM OF SOCIETY FOR ENFORCING A DIVIDE-UP, and the second grand phase of the class struggle. Serfdom prevailed over most of Europe for more than a thousand years: the masters in castles lived on the labor of the serfs in huts. The purpose of this class form of society also, was to enable a ruling class to rob the workers: the best and the most to the masters; the meanest and the leanest shares to the serfs, — just sufficient to keep them in working and breeding condition. Custom, teaching and public opinion, as under chattel slavery, were usually sufficient to keep the serfs in subjection. But always, too, an armed force was ready to force the workers to **divide up**.

Then came a third class-labor form of society: CAPITALISM (the profit system). Today, bluffed by the legalized pretensions of a strutting, sneering ruling class, you meekly consent to dividing up, giving up *all* but an income sufficient for a lean, cheap living, consenting to be looted, meekly going through your stunts of toil, meekly consenting to your insulting social status, meekly voting with your masters.

Get this straight: Dividing-up as an organized, legalized industrial practice began many thousands of years ago; and it became embedded in the laws, customs, thoughts and morals, as solid as a rock. Social, political and industrial *forms* changed but the dividing up continued ruthlessly, Dividing-up is the major tragedy of human history, and is the supreme tragedy of our time.

The slave-owner's welfare was more important than the slave's, and the slave-owner had the advantage: *his will was the law*.

The feudal landlord's welfare was more important than the serf's; and the feudal lord had the advantage: *his will was the law*.

To the capitalist profits are more important than wages, and he surely has the advantage: *his will is the law*.

Thus through thousands of years of chattel slavery, through a thousand years of serfdom in Europe, and now under the profit system, we see an industrial ruling class, a petty minority of industrial masters, bluffing the vast majority into social timidity, industrial docility, and political futility. During all these thousands of years the workers never, — never, had plenty of the good things of life, for two reasons: 1st, it was never before practicable to produce plenty for everybody; and second, no ruling class ever planned or intended, or desired that the workers should have plenty.

# The Reward of the Working Class

Since the origin of the *class* form of society, five or ten thousand years ago, all through chattel slavery, serfdom and under the profit system, down to this very hour, regardless of all scientific progress in production,

## HAS BEEN AS FOLLOWS:

10,000 years ago	
5,000 years ago	
2,000 years ago	
1,000 years ago	CHEAP FOOD
100 years ago	CHEAP CLOTHING
50 years ago	CHEAP SHELTER and a
10 years ago	CHEAP GRADE of a few other things
today	(when anything else)

The social parasites have always taken all the rest.

And that is always regarded as a "fair" wage, a "living wage," a good "American policy," just as that was "fair" in the days of the Pharaohs of Egypt, thousands of years ago, when Moses organized the first great strike, and led his fellow slaves out of Egyptian bondage, with the special assistance of God Almighty, according to the Bible.

"Plenty is too much for the common herd," — this is the code of the national constitution of every country on earth, under the profit system. Grown hard as flint through more than fifty centuries of social parasitism, the plunder-gorged ruling class of the world, *now regardless of all industrial progress*, presents a united front against the rise of the common people into a free, glad life of Abundance.

Who will defend our right to Abundance?

Our country not only flounders in an industrial crisis, but still more clearly is challenged by a moral crisis.

We have our twentieth century, scientific, automatic system of production; but

We have our unsocial, unethical system of distribution.

The situation may be formulated as follows:

Even if one fourth of our population were actually unsheltered, freezing and starving, our national production plant could not be used (and never can be used) to provide plenty for all our people, under the profit system.

Having arrived at the present stage, the twentieth century stage, of efficiency, we find society balked by an ancient purpose of our ruling class. The purpose that now dominates industry in the United States is the same purpose that dominated Egyptian and Babylonian society under chattel slavery thousands of years ago. That dominant purpose was and still is the special welfare of the ruling class, with the workers used as things to serve that purpose. The only reason the workers as a class stand for this and carry the vast load of parasitism on their backs is:

**They are used to it!**

Some one should write the history of mankind showing what and how much man had sense enough to want; and revealing also how much he had the grit to demand and fight for when available.

Today you see Labor ignorant of its own history, ignorant of the age-long, tear-stained tragedy of toil, ignorant of the meaning of ten thousand years of wholesale social parasitism; and today you see Labor so tame and timid it meekly whimpers while it shivers in the presence of superabundance. Today you see Labor powerless in poverty, paralyzed with fear, blinded with prejudice, dazed by the vast collapse of the American high standard of living, dully divided into factions.

The plain people can not too clearly *understand the soul* of the industrial system in which, and as a part of which,

brotherhood, fellowship, sociability, all such splendid sentiment, are actually sneered at in the name of profits.

### SAMPLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The following fair illustrations of the ways and wrongs of the profit system, may make it clear that if the workers were not stuffed and bluffed with piffle, there would be another revolution in the United States; of course I mean a nice quiet revolution, — not like the one led by George Washington, in which they “went after” what they wanted with rifles, swords and cannon.

### OPPORTUNITIES GONE

One hundred years ago a poor man could equip himself with a team of horses and a wagon, and engage in the transportation of merchandise from Philadelphia to the Ohio River region. But today such an outfit would cut a sorry figure competing with the Pennsylvania Railway. The worker in transportation a hundred years ago was independent, — wasn’t afraid of losing his job, and he got the result of his labor; but today he is the slave of a mighty railway or other transportation corporation, in fear lest he lose his job if he even dares to speak vigorously of the changed conditions. And if the machinery of transportation should so much improve as to multiply his power fifty-fold, or a hundred-fold, his wages would not be multiplied even two-fold.

And it is thus in nearly every other industry. Under the profit system in the present grand-scale stage of development, only those with huge resources of cash and credit for large-scale operations, can make use of the vast forests, mines and oil fields, the hugely expensive machinery and factories, the multimillion dollar transportation and communication systems, the assembled advantages of technology, and the multitude of technically trained men and women. The little man and the average man and the wage-and-salary people are crowded out of the picture.

### WASTE OF RESOURCES

COAL, — *Rape it; butcher it and “beat it.”* Half the coal supply is wasted by present methods of mining. 150,000,000 tons of minable coal left in the mines each year, is lost in getting out the coal, largely due to competitive industry.\*

OIL, — *Loot it, waste it, and . . . . need it.* Half the oil production is wasted for maximum net profit.

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\*Tryon and Schoenfeld: *Recent Economic Trends*, Vol. I, p. 86.



LUMBER, — *Slash it, burn it, and ruin it.* One third of our lumber supply is wasted by present methods. The forests are slaughtered in such manner as to yield maximum net profits, regardless of the use-needs of the next generation: practically no replanting is done; the "slashings" are left scattered about, and result in a certain and awful fire, so hot it not only destroys the humus, but literally cooks the soil, converting vast quantities of valuable soil-elements into gas that escapes and floats away, forever lost.

By 1930, 92% of Michigan's original 35,500,000 acres of forest had been slashed down with no replant! There are 81,000,000 acres of idle land in this country formerly well timbered which are not restocked with trees of any potential value.\*

Why should one man be permitted to own 500,000 acres of these creations of nature, some of them costing centuries of time?

WATER, — *waste it, pollute it, and starve.*

LAND, — *mine it, wreck it and leave.*

### WASTE OF HUMAN LIFE

In addition to the labor that is lost by not being used, consider:

(a) The wasteful absurdities of competitive duplication in "business;" for example, five shoe stores on one side of one block found recently in a small down-state Illinois city, involving unused labor-time of many clerks; also six or seven milk delivery wagons serving the citizens of the same block. If several post offices were set up in the same block, or a half dozen mail carriers served the same rural route, each serving every sixth farm home, it would be regarded as evidence of insanity.

(b) Consider also the labor wasted in many factories where obsolescent, low-efficiency equipment is still in use, requiring unnecessary hours of labor for the production of a small amount of product.

(c) Waste of human life through lack of enough proper safety devices in various industries; for example, the accident death rate of locomotive firemen, which is nine times the normal rate, the average age of death being thirty-seven years.\*

(d) Waste of potential ability. More than half the nation's children are always steadily forced to leave school with less than an eighth grade education of any kind, their tastes, bents and gifts undiscovered and undeveloped, never to be used

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\**Conservation of Our Natural Resources*, pp. 236, 237, by C. R. Van Hise.

\*Stuart Chase: *Men and Machines*, p. 143.

and enjoyed at their maximum. This is by far the nation's greatest single loss.\*

### THE ABSURDITY OF COMPETITION

Under the profit system it would be to the profit-interest of the farmers east of the Mississippi River if half the crops and herds from Louisiana to Canada were destroyed by storm or drought. Of course storms, droughts, wheatrust and boll weevil injure society, though they produce a scarcity that means profits for *some* people.

Increasing millions of acres brought under cultivation by irrigation, increase the product but do not increase the market e. g., the Colorado River water turned on to the dry but rich and warm Arizona land 300 to 500 miles nearer eastern markets, will disastrously jolt the California fruit-growers. This will vastly increase the fruit and vegetable supply, and thus increase the total capacity for social service to many millions who need more food; but this happy increase of products will work disaster to many Californians under the present profit system of industry.

### PROPERTY OWNERS

Now turn to the property owner. This gentleman is neither producer nor overhead worker. He lives through money taken in rent, dividends, interest and royalties. He toils not, neither does he spin. And as his reward for idling he has always been well off, taking in more than four times as much as his working brethren in 1917. In 1932 he was more than five times as well off as the average farmer, and took in close to four times as much as the overhead worker.

All production requires productive activity, either mental or physical or both. But ownership is not productive activity of any kind. Ownership is simply a *relation* between a person and an exchangeable thing. In a modern society this relation to certain kinds of wealth gives privilege and power.

### STRATEGIC PROPERTY

Here's the secret of the might of the mighty in industry, under the profit system:

The masters are masters because they own as private property the industrial production plant of society. Their power is due to their private ownership, — not of diamonds, palaces,

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\*Lester F. Ward: *Applied Sociology*.

yachts, etc., but of the nation's strategic property, its industrial equipment. All they have to do is to own privately some form of wealth that the workers have to *use* or *starve*. The private ownership of this kind of property legally fastens them on the backs of the workers as parasites; places them in a legal position to declare that less than plenty is sufficient for those who will submit; and in a legal position to have those shot or jailed who bravely refuse to submit; aye, in strategic position to control the press, school, church, radio; to control city councils, legislatures and Congress; to control courts, governors, army, militia, sheriffs and police, jails, rifles, tear gas, armored cars and machine guns, in the tragic (and usually silent) *class* struggle.

One thousand soldiers strategically located on the rocky *top* of Royal Gorge, armed with machine guns, could hold back and slaughter and *wipe out* a million strong brave men marching up the river at the bottom of the Gorge; and this they could do by virtue of being in a strategic position, commanding the situation.

Clearly a part of the people are in a strategic position of power, with the right and power to withhold *permits* from the multitude, — permits to make the struggle for existence at all, or permits to enjoy abundantly the abundant fruits of their honest efforts in the struggle for existence. In this country they generously throw in some hot air about the worker's "freedom," about the silvery beads of sweat on Labor's honest brow, and the worker's "chance to be President." The actual chance to be President is worth not *more* than twenty dollars cash, (often much less).

"Those who work in factories not theirs, with machines not theirs, on materials not theirs, under conditions they have no voice in determining, and turn out a product that belongs to some one else, discover that they have an interest in common . . . there is a clear tendency toward the concentration of wealth . . . . Since the capital factor in industry constantly expands, the share of the total product going to ownership grows. The time may come when half or two thirds of the social income will be claimed in the name of property."<sup>s</sup>

(That is, by those who own the strategic property,—not because they work-and-produce anything whatever, but simply because they own things.)

Thus by this sort of ownership, the workers permit the success of the achievements of scientific industrial progress to be controlled *by* a parasitic ruling class *for* the ruling class, who, *naturally, behave as parasites.*

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<sup>s</sup>E. A. Ross: *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 206 and 207.

## THE HORSE AND THE WAGE-EARNER

Suppose a man makes his living by handling freight, and has a horse and dray with which he can haul *one* ton of freight. Of course, to keep the horse in working condition the man must care for the horse, give him food for energy, a blanket in winter, and a stall in which to sleep. Now suppose the dray is mechanically improved (say, with ball bearings in the hubs) in such manner that the horse is able to draw *two* tons of freight. Will the man double the horse's feed, blanket and care? Certainly not. The man is not in the draying business for the horse but for himself, and he therefore takes for himself all the results of the mechanical improvements of the dray; and he would do the same if mechanical improvements enabled the horse to draw five or ten times as much as before.

Well, when, through the amazing progress of science and invention, machinery enables the wage-earner to produce from ten to a hundred times as much as before, does the owner of the machinery advance the worker's wages from ten to a hundred times as high as before?

Certainly—NO! Why?

Because industry is carried on not for the benefit of the worker, but for profits for the owners of the industrial equipment. Under the profit system the workers are not permitted to enjoy fully the amazing progress in science, machinery, etc. Their income (like the four-legged horses' income) is cunningly kept down to just sufficient to keep the workers in *working and breeding condition*, forced and bluffed into *dividing up* with the owners of the factory. The owners take the results of progress.

Thus in the boasted industrial progress of the world, the horse and the wage-earner are left behind, and safely left behind too; for the horse *can't* think and the wage-earner *won't* think;—not yet. Under the capitalist system, with its policy of *plenty is too much for the workers*, the two-legged human horses are, as it were, carefully locked in the stable with the four-legged horses.

Under the production-for-profit system industry is organized and operated for the *special* benefit of the industrial CLASS that owns the industrial foundations (the equipment) of society as private property. Thus it was in principle and policy under slavery and serfdom. Thus you see that in principle, policy and practice, the wage-system is a form of slavery. Your future, as a class, is fixed, — that's settled.

Here is an illustration of this principle and practice as it operates today, and will continue to operate as long as we are tame enough to submit to the profit system.

# ROUND AND ROUND!

HOME, 8 A. M.—

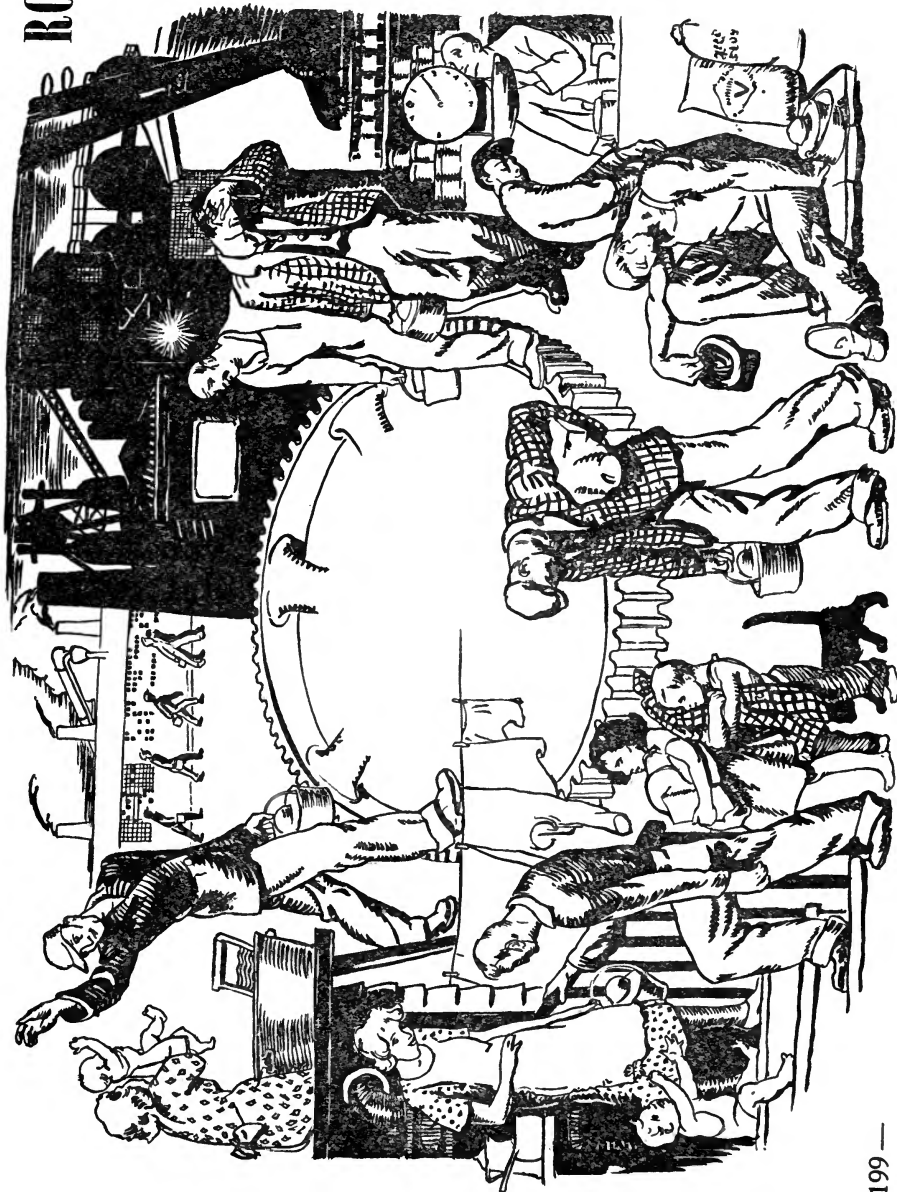
Off to the factory to sell  
labor power and get weak.

FACTORY, 5 P. M.—

Off to the grocery to get  
bread and meat to get strong  
to have more power.

GROCERY—

HOME—To eat and sleep,  
to build up labor power.



## ANOTHER HORSE

A 1500 pound horse, hitched to a post in a bare spot in the center of a field of waving clover, by means of a thin,  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch leather strap,—such a horse *could* easily break the strap, release himself, and eat his fill. But a trained horse, *trained to stand hitched*, will not break the strap, but will actually, in the midst of plenty, slowly die of hunger and thirst; — because he is *trained to be obedient and stand hitched*.

I know of 35 million grown-up men and women of the working class who have been trained to be meekly obedient industrially, and stand hitched politically.

## TWENTY-TWO LIONS AND TIGERS BLUFFED

Recently at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition I read the tragic history of the working class in the behavior of twenty-two full-grown, overworked lions and tigers in a huge cage face to face with a man whom they hated and angrily snarled at, eager to rip him to pieces and devour him. Sometimes a lion or a tiger would rush the trainer, — to be instantly faced by him, with a chair as his only shield. Any one of them could have torn him down with a single blow and killed him, but the entire group of twenty-two angry beasts dared not attack. With a cracking whip, a booming, bluffing voice and a steady bluffing gaze the daring man turned the twenty-two big, hungry killers into bluffed cowards, backed 'em down, and put 'em through their hated stunts, — made them feel *inferior*,—created in the big tusked, armed beasts a paralyzing man-fear. Thus through an **inferiority complex** the twenty-two swift, dangerous destroyers were powerless to unite and slay their one petty tormentor.

Likewise, as big caged, snarling lions and tigers are easily bluffed through an inferiority complex, so, — just so, — the working class multitude of mortgaged, whimpering farmers, industrial wage-earners and “white-collar workers,” all caged in the capitalist system, are completely bluffed, and easily plucked by their strutting, pretentious masters, the industrial ruling class. Bluffed into blindness, they can not see their own tragic degradation; plucked till they have no pluck; aye, bluffed till they haven't pride and sense enough to want plenty; so stunted and stung that they do not feel the sting; so dulled and deadened that they can not hear, and even refuse to read, the ringing, rousing call to *unite as a class* for their own defense on the battle-fields of industry and politics. The bluffed workers whine, snarl and sometimes swear; but, like the snarling lions and tigers, they stupidly fail to unite.

Bluffed into complete political confusion, the toilers modestly go round and round in a silly circle, campaign after campaign, always humbly voting *with their masters* for their masters' candidates in their masters' *one political party* (with two or three names, but always for the profit system), modestly getting nowhere and meekly getting nothing but more contempt, —completely bluffed.

Wake your neighbor. Stir your neighbor. Perhaps he's also "bluffed to a standstill." Read to him: *Twenty-two Lions and Tigers Bluffed*.

As a nation we now begin to fail, — not because we have succeeded in reaching a production capacity for plenty, but because:

1. A leisure class refuses to the workers sufficient reward to *buy* plenty and must, therefore, refuse to the workers the right to produce plenty; and

2. For thousands of years the workers have been tame enough to slave and sweat for less than plenty, and they are still too meek to want plenty and too humble to demand plenty.

Like the chattel slave system and the serf-slave system, so also the profit system tames and breaks the spirit of the multitude.

## RELIEF AND RIFLE STATESMANSHIP

Keep in mind:

Once,—just once,—*the first time in all time*, in the "banner year of prosperity," 1929, the workers produced the amazing national income of 90,000 million dollars, and they stood ready, and able also, to go right on producing more and more abundantly each year. Then and there Progress painted the glad dawn of a New Era of plenty for all the 125 millions of the United States. The rest of mankind, 94% of the human race, looked on amazed by the sublime splendor of our national achievement. The human family of sixty nations saluted the American Republic, the first nation on the planet to be fully prepared to escape from the wolves of want that had haunted and hunted mankind for a million years; first to arrive at the goal of potential plenty: a situation unknown, undreamed of, unexpected and unpredicted in all the history of human kind; and alas! unbelievable even now by many millions who have been bluffed, blighted and tamed by the profit system.

As 1930 dawned, everything was READY. And the nation *needed* what Labor was able and willing to produce.

## B U T

the industrial equipment and foundations of society were then (as now) the private property of a *part* of the people, which private ownership gave that part of the people vast industrial power and mastery, making them a ruling class, who operated industry for profits.

The workers, including of course both the skilled and the unskilled, had developed the necessary technology, had made the tools and built the wonderful machines and the mills, factories, etc.,—all the equipment for the production, transportation and distribution of plenty for everybody. Nevertheless, they, the builders, the creators and actual operators, had no legal right whatever to enter and use their own creations to produce regularly and continuously for everybody,—no more legal right than a hungry horse has to invade his master's parlor and demand the right to live and live well. Indeed, if the millions of unemployed, hungry and desperate, at any time, had attempted in good order and good-naturedly to "rush the guards" and make their way into the mills, mines and factories *simply to help produce plenty for everybody*, they would have been swiftly, legally suppressed; they would have been clubbed, gassed, jailed or shot,—stung—*under the present dictatorship of production for profits*.

Maximum national production of plenty for all was in 1929 (as at present) certain to be unprofitable under the profit system. Therefore, thinking only of profits, dreaming, longing, lusting for profits,—mad for profits, just as surely as the steaming blood and torn flesh of the lion's slain victim are the overriding purpose and passion of the king of killers in the jungle, America's industrial masters boldly took their stand. Waving the national flag and lustily praising the constitution, hurrahing for "law and order," for God and home and country, here is what they did:

*They fired a dozen million* willing workers into the streets and left them to suck their fingers and wait, and wait, and wait, until they may be usable again in industry *for profits*;

*They branded as "useless"* an average of 12,500,000 willing workers for seven years and more;

*They forced many millions on part-time schedules* with cut-down pay;

*They slammed the doors and the gates of opportunity* in the faces of millions of young men and women just come of age, proud and hopeful, many of them fresh from the schools;



*They slashed down the total national income* from 90 billions to 45 billions;

*They smashed the nation's home market* fifty per cent for farm, factory, forest and mine products and social services;

And as true Caesars, with tragic cruelty and moronic ignorance, they have held the nation's purchasing power far, far below its purchasing power of 1929, and bitterly below what it could have been all these years.

For years, with press and radio, they have ironically explained this national misery of need as due to over-production of things needed; children should have less milk because there is too much milk to drink;

For years they have *gagged and silenced* 500,000 teachers, preachers and editors, forbidding all these to teach the tens of millions living in poverty that plenty is not too much for the common people, and that over-production is a stupid lie and a contemptible fraud while scores of millions are poorly sheltered, meanly dressed, hungry and ashamed, shivering, sighing and cursing, or broken and blindly dumb, in want and worry;

For years they have bellowed across the land that all were "reds" and ruffians who objected to the legal sabotage of industry, or even suggested that *social service for all*, rather than *private profit for a few*, should be made the *nation's new purpose* of industry. (Just as James Otis, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln were damned as reds and ruffian rascals. Even the *New York Tribune* called Lincoln an anarchist.)

For long, bitter years these brutal go-getters of the profit jungle have thus teased and taunted and defied the multitude and even driven many quiet, serious citizens to wildly angry desperation in defense of their outraged mates and whimpering, ragged children.

All this while power to produce abundance *increases*, and permission to consume abundantly is steadily denied, while the hungry, angry army of the unemployed marches round and round with rising wrath.

There is what they did, and there is what they do, and I assure you they are ready to continue to do what they did and what they do.

And mark well:

For years they have *screamed for a heavier fist and heel of steel*,—a heavier local, state and national military force, to suppress objection from the roused and proudest of the ruined men and women;

For years, long cruel years, *they have prepared* for

increasing the use of force and violence in compelling the multitude to submit to legalized wholesale **obstruction** and **destruction** of abundance.

### READY AS A CLASS

Today, after more than seven years\* of heaping insult and outrage upon the common people, the masters stand ready for the rising tide of discontent and wrath; ready for the earthquake of contempt for the profit system; ready to crush and beat down the "common herd" if they dare demand the right to work, and actually attempt to use the nation's total industrial equipment for the production of plenty for all; ready to compel the multitude to hang on the cross of worry and want in this land of abounding plenty.

Today they are ready with lead and steel, with army, militia, R. O. T. C. and militarized C. C. C., and a built-up state police, ready with airplanes, armored tanks, riot guns, tear gas, vomitory gas and poison gas, ready with prisons, rifles, ropes and chains to hold the yoke on the necks of the multitude; ready to compel the employed and the unemployed workers to *keep quiet* while they listen to the dictators' boast of "returning prosperity," "rising dividends," "mounting profits," and "booming business," while the cost of living rises and wages lag or shrink.

Yes, they are ready AS A CLASS until the workers AS A CLASS read, rouse, rise, unite and fight before the bar of public opinion,—fight the sublime fight for the better way in a socialized society, in which plenty is not too much for the common people, and all useful labor is usefully used to produce plenty for all, instead of treated as garbage when "not profitable" for the haughty few.

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\*[Nine years now.—F. H. K.]

# READY!

## *The Workers*

Stand Ready and Able

to produce plenty for everybody,  
but have no legal right to do so—

## *The Masters*

(safe in their elegant homes,  
offices and club houses)

Are Ready, Willing and  
Legally Entitled

to have the workers gassed, jailed  
or shot if they boldly attempt to  
produce, use and enjoy plenty—

## *Under the Profit System*

goods are produced, not for the use and  
happiness of all, but for profits for the few.

## MACHINE GUN CIVILIZATION

Just when everything is ready for plenty, everything is also ready for the savage prohibition of plenty. Thus we arrive at the muzzles of the machine gun. We now enter a new phase or form of civilization, the bitter and brutal climax of the profit system: the use of the machine gun, gas bombs, etc., for the prohibition of plenty, if and whenever and wherever the workers boldly attempt to produce plenty for everybody.

When the ancient Roman Government, iron-shod, stood on the neck of a looted, conquered country, and "all was quiet," it was called a "Roman peace." Facism is an industrial Roman peace for the workers of a nation, defeated in a show-down struggle for a larger share of life.

Fascism is the final stage of the profit system; a boldly open, boldly candid, boldly defiant use of sword, rifle, bayonet and machine gun BY THE STATE to muzzle the Many, and to defend the profit system as it daily weakens, reels and staggers toward collapse. Fascism becomes increasingly necessary for the operation of the profit system, as the chasm widens between production power and restricted consumption privilege. Industrially we have arrived at the tear-gas, machine-gun stage of civilization.

## HOLD 'EM DOWN

More armored tanks, gas bombs and sawed-off shot guns are added to the police equipment in hundreds of cities; the state police is enlarged; more revolver and rifle practice is arranged for police; the R. O. T. C. is boosted and promoted; more states pass criminal syndicalism laws; free assemblage and free speech are curtailed; the Declaration of Independence is soft-pedaled; the right to amend the constitution is belittled; and freedom of teaching is more restricted.

Assistant Secretary of War (later Secretary) Harry Woodring spilt the beans in *Liberty Magazine*, Jan. 6, 1934, where he boldly asserted that the C. C. C. "organization of over 300,000 men in more than 1500 Civilian Conservation Corps camps were the first real test of the army's plans for war mobilization under the National Defense Act. . . . Let me speak frankly . . . in two months last spring the army recruited, conditioned, equipped and mobilized more men than reenlisted in the Spanish-American War, and did it so quickly and efficiently that few people in the country realized what was happening . . . the C. C. C. mobilization. . . . Let me speak frankly: if this country should be threatened with economic chaos or social

revolution, the army has the training and the men to support the government (no matter how fascistic!—G. R. K.) and direct the country in the national interest. (No matter how Hitleresque!—G. R. K.) The C. C. C. mobilization is thus more than a great military achievement; it is a dress rehearsal of the army's ability to intervene, under constituted authority, in combating the depression. . . . Sooner or later, in my opinion, we shall have to clear away many of the emergency organizations and simplify the government picture at Washington." . . .\* (As it is now done in Italy and Germany?—G. R. K.)

(Andrew Jackson May, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, said recently, speaking of the C. C. C. boys: "These boys are under the supervision of army officers now." An amendment has been proposed in Congress to provide for more military training.—F. H. K.)\*

The Federal Laboratories, Inc., Pittsburgh, through the Railway Audit Co., serves plutocracy with a new fighting equipment,—tear gas bombs and "stink" bombs. This company sold \$30,000 worth of tear gas in San Francisco in 1934; \$10,000 worth in Toledo; \$75,000 worth in Pittsburgh, Pa.; \$25,000 worth in Youngstown, Ohio, for use against men on strike for a few dimes more a day to buy a little more of the plenty. This company also supplies airplane bombs.\*

And the working class makes the machine gun, and turns the machine gun against itself in industrial conflict, even when the wage-advance asked for will buy only a *little* more. Will the multitude always be disloyal to the multitude? No!! It's rousing now and daily sees more clearly.

Just as science enables the orange-grower to destroy the parasites ready to wreck his fruit trees,—so science will yet explode parasitism by inspiring the workers to insist on having best seats at the banquet of life, unless,—ah, *unless* the toilers on the farms and trains and in the mines, mills, factories, offices and schoolrooms have been hopelessly doped into whipped and whimpering slaves, discouraged, timid, incurable.

As long as the workers are deadened with doles, cheated with charity, drugged with drivel and paralyzed with piffle, the deadly doctrine that *plenty is too much* will blast and belittle the lives of the workers. Greedy masters and their distinguished, crafty stooges are all around us, ready to sell us out,—

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\*Quoted in *The Student Outlook*, March, '34.

\*The magazine *Time*, Feb. 6, 1939, p. 10.

\**Harper's Magazine*, May, 1935; and *The Minnesota Leader*, March 27, 1937.

ready to soothe us with the soup bones of charity and petty incomes for petty living, while the porterhouse steaks of abundance are available for all of us, to be ours,—*ours!* as soon as we have wit enough to *want* plenty and grit enough to get together and go after plenty unitedly.

Abundant consumption is all right for the owning class and their pets, and for generals, admirals, corporation lawyers, editorial "hisbrains," and other eminent defenders of the profit system; but abundant consumption is "dangerous for the common herd." Common people like you and me and our children must be "cared for," our attention must be piously directed to "spiritual things." Therefore, plans must be made to protect us against over-eating, or dressing too well, or enjoying too much. We must be protected by being belittled in the prevention, prohibition and destruction of plenty.

Precisely so! Under the profit system even part of the profits is used deliberately to peddle paralyzing piffle and social poison.

### PIFFLE

"Take your reverses as part of the plan which God has devised to make you a man. When reverses come to you and you're down in the dumps, call on your courage. It's all in His plan."<sup>a</sup>

Today untamed, onward-marching Science proudly shouts her offer: "Plenty! a whole loaf for everybody!" Subdued and cringing Labor blindly whines, "A half loaf is better than no loaf at all," and then with all its political might elects to power the class that never mentions a whole loaf for Labor. Isn't a worker dull to permit himself to be poisoned and put to sleep with the vicious piffle that "half a loaf is better than no loaf at all," when there could be plenty of everything for everybody! Human nature's funny, isn't it? Keep a man down on the half loaf for a good while, and he hasn't enough guts and gumption to get up and go after his (his whole loaf) in a land of plenty.

The domestication of horses, cattle and a few other animals, thousands of years ago, was a great achievement for the human race. The taming of the workers as a class, the domestication of the many by the few, has done most to slow down human progress.

Be he proud Senator, eminent economist, eloquent cleric, university president, or other "social leader," no more tragic creature walks this earth today than the spiritual eunuch, the

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<sup>a</sup>In a radio broadcast from Portland, Ore., Nov. 4, '33.

"educated," cultivated human *thing*, squawking mocking praise to Jesus Christ, friend and defender of the lowly,—while he himself, well fed, well clothed, and safe, is as silent as a slimy earthworm on the policy of artificial scarcity,—utters no bold and open defense of abundance for the sons and daughters of toil; but rather even stoops to dope the lowly with the social poison that "Suffering is a blessing in disguise," even suffering through long years of slow starvation due to "over-production." The time has come for the unanimous workers' contempt for all editors, teachers, preachers, and politicians, high and low, who now bluff us with "A half loaf is better than no loaf at all," but never urge, never mention, never even whisper that a whole loaf is better than half a loaf.



McLeod

Reprinted from leaflet "Silence"  
by George R. Kirkpatrick.

Promises, flattery and "relief," "living wages," doxologies, and unsigned checks payable in Heaven,—these things are the cunning Caesars' chloroforming substitutes for plenty; but all these things combined are no decent substitute for justice; all these combined will not buy porterhouse steaks, plenty of Grade A milk, and heavy cream for Grade A coffee for our families; nor pay for high-grade clothing, nor lovely homes, liberal edu-

cation, travel, and books, with plenty of untroubled leasure and security and serenity for the enjoyment of the books through the years. Hot with intelligent resentment, let us face the masters and their cringing crew in forty-eight legislatures, and in our national congress too.

It was once proposed in the Roman Senate to give the slaves a distinctive costume, but it was rejected as it was considered dangerous to show them their numbers. Blair estimates in Rome (146 B.C. to 222 A.D.) thirty-three slaves to one freeman.

Let Labor do some one thing, almost anything, UNIT-EDLY, and their power will begin to shake the nation. For example, if all over the land, in 30,000 cities, towns and villages, in country schoolhouses, picnics, etc.,—if at all such places workers everywhere would do so simple and easy a thing as repeat together in loud, bold tones:

“ 90,000 million dollars;

“120,000 million dollars!

“150,000 million dollars!”

the effect would be electric. The statement of what we did do, and what we could do, and the suggestion of united action would be invincible.

Stand, Giant Labor, and bravely say:

“From the profit system I am my own redeemer! Down with the ‘half loaf’ philosophy! Down with the prohibition of plenty!”

Scorning any and all who cheat us with crusts or chloroform, standing erect in pride and self-respect, we salute Progress and plan for Plenty.

Courage, brother!



# THINK FAST

“It won’t be long now!”

either

**WILD, BLIND RIOTS AND REBELLION**

by the wronged, roused multitude  
(accomplishing nothing whatever)

or

**ANOTHER WORLD WAR**

to stimulate business and kill off millions of the ruined,  
roused multitude (resulting in hideous disaster)

or

**TAKE THIS WAY OUT:  
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**

Come, threatened, desperate neighbors,—let us think this  
thing through fraternally,—while we can.

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—From WAR—WHAT FOR?

## CHAPTER XIII

### SOCIAL PLANNING

#### THEN AND NOW

The masters of ancient Egypt, Babylon and Rome fed their slaves the crusts and husks of life, and drove them to their tasks with spear and lash. A very simple kind of social planning. The modern masters cunningly *teach* their workers that cheap little incomes (sufficient for cheap little lives) are just about "right and proper" for working people,—teach them to take it and like it; and even teach them to machine-gun their own class, which teaching is part of the social planning of production for profits.

At no time, in all the thousands of years since chattel slavery and the industrial class-form of society originated, has the ruling class desired, intended, or even faintly suggested a policy and plan of plenty for the toil-stained common people. Not once! The attitude of the ruling class toward the common people today is no surprise to those who know the history of industrial exploitation and social parasitism. The cruel refrain of the ages has been, "There's nothing too good for the masters, and plenty's too much for a slave."

Till now scarcity was forced upon us by ignorance of nature, ignorance of adjustment to nature. Now scarcity is forced upon us by ignorance of adjustment to one another.

Heretofore we fought each other for a meager share. Now we fight in multitudes to prevent the multitude from enjoying plenty.

Remember: In this country we have developed to an absolutely new stage and a new situation, where we can now produce plenty for everybody. This raises the question of plenty for everybody as the new issue and the main issue, to be settled now. Now,—now that we can produce plenty for every one of our people, we are forced to decide on one of three policies:

1. Produce less than plenty, and henceforth and forever bar the common people from the banquet of abundance;
2. Produce plenty for everybody and feed part of it to the buzzards or otherwise waste it; or
3. Produce plenty for everybody and distribute plenty to everybody.

The masters dread discussion of this issue. Politicians, high and low, heavy and windy, side-step *this* issue. This new issue is loaded with mental dynamite. The general and continued discussion of this question has sufficient social TNT to explode the mountain of ponderous piffle now peddled to the multitude. When statesmen and business men speak of "decent wages," "reasonable incomes for labor," "American standard of living," and all that, they **never mean plenty to the limit made possible by Nature, Science and Invention. Never!**

However, in spite of hell and hypocrisy, Science continues to shout her recent brilliant achievements, announcing: "Plenty is possible for all." Moreover, Science and Invention continually *expand* production power and thus *expand* the issue.

Look around you. Look up and down the land, and be ashamed and intelligently disgusted. The situation is silly, savage and embarrassing. Very. Look at it:

*First.* The Federal Department of Agriculture has just now (January, 1937) reported that almost *half* the families in the United States were ill-nourished in 1936; yet in present and preceding national administrations billions of tons of food products were destroyed, or their production prohibited; and this prohibition of food production still continues.

*Second.* After wasting (prohibiting the use of) 30,000 million days' labor in the first seven years of the depression, about 10,000,000 workers *continue* to be unemployed: deliberate waste of 60,000,000 days' work each week.<sup>1</sup> All this, of course, is simply part of the planned economy of scarcity, absolutely necessary under the system of production for profits. And then again, the advances in prices almost consume the advances in wages allowed to many employed workers.

*Third.* Millions of families continue on relief,—petty, stingy, malnutrition relief. Yet, as set out on another page, but needing to be repeated here, a three per cent income on the 210 billion dollars thrown away in the form of planfully unused labor in seven years of depression would now provide 5,000,000 families with \$100 a month relief,—far, far above the social security wage, and the unemployment insurance proposed by statesmen. So perplexingly ridiculous, don't you see?

Our almost miraculously multiplied production capacity has thrust to the front the statesman's crowning problem of the twentieth century:

What to do! What to do about abundance!

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<sup>1</sup>Reliable estimates show that in October, 1933, there are still about 10,000,000 unemployed.—F. H. K.

(If you think this problem has been solved, or "almost solved" by our state and national legislatures, and that "good old times are here again," then I urge you to turn back to Chapter V, Facts Three, Four and Five, pp. 73-75.)

This problem actually haunts the American Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the nation's farmers, business men, and our Federal Government from top to bottom.

Ah, yes, reader, what a "deep" problem: What to do!

1. About "over-production" while ignoring the 100 million living on less than abundance;
2. About the millions unemployed and eager to help produce abundance for all;
3. About six million farmers, eager and able to produce abundance for all;
4. About several million wage-earners and low-salary workers with sense and grit enough to go after, and strike for, a little more; and millions of farmers forming larger and bolder organizations for self-defense against the farm-machinery trust, the transportation trusts, middlemen, etc., and who begin to see that the workers in the cities are not permitted to buy abundantly of the best farm produce.

This problem is multiplied a thousand-fold by two dominant beliefs:

a. The ancient cruel belief that abundance is too much for the common people.

b. The current belief that the system of production for profits is the best national policy, and shall be preserved as a holy thing forever.

These beliefs constitute a thick, long, mile-high barrier of flint to defeat a solution of this problem, a barrier against which statesmen break their heads and break the heart of Labor, as they struggle with the problem. The false definition of life for the workers is an impassable barrier now to prosperity. Steadily balked with this impassable barrier, there is a constant hulla-balloo and a great to-do about *what to do*.

SEVEN YEARS. (Nine years now.—F. H. K.)

Strange and ghastly fact! Through seven long years the sad, almost smileless gloom has darkened more than half of our nation's homes. Seven hideous years! And this blight continues to curse life with littleness in the lovely land of plenty.

For seven long years millions of workers have pleaded:

"In God's name permit us to produce plenty, an ever greater plenty for everybody!" and have been turned down; and hundreds of millions,—billions, of tons of food have been dumped into the flames and graves, and served at ten thousand banquets of reeking buzzards. Thus do the plain people suffer insult and outrage in the dull, cold prison of the profit system,, the system that legally crucifies Labor on the cross of profits and holds before the victims' eyes the cruel banner: Plenty is too much and the best is too good for the multitude.

In spite of the admitted national industrial confusion, vastly expensive tinkering and embarrassed muddling, through more than seven solemn years (nine years now), there is still not even the beginning, or mention, of any rational, fraternal planning for plenty for all, in a land of potential plenty for all. For years, moreover, at every cabinet meeting and in every meeting of business men, from ocean to ocean, all the planning of the masters of industry has been, not vastly to **increase** the common people's power to buy plenty of the best, but to **decrease** the amount of product to equal the common people's **arbitrarily restricted** power to buy.

Thus the Greedy Mighty wound and tease and dare the Hungry Many.

Imagine statesmen and businessmen, "friends of the people," with incomes running from ten thousand to ten million dollars a year, seated round a conference table, stuffed with the best food and wine on earth, smoking perfect cigars, planning for the common people mere subsistence; and at the same time planning to *keep down* the nation's supply of food and fiber products, while millions shiver and hunger! Such planning is a viper's kiss and sting to dull and benumb the workers with brutish contentment and brainless gratitude for the cross on which they hang.

The total output of "thought" on social planning by the well-fed worshipers of the golden calf in seven years of heavy headwork can be summed up as follows:

*First.* Avoiding mention of abundance for the common people.

*Second.* Planning ways and means of prohibiting the production of plenty, and for the destruction of plenty, if, when, and wherever (unfortunately) produced. Bigger and better boondoggling statesmanship,—*"plowing under every third row"* *a la* Hoover, and killing a million cows *a la* Roosevelt.

*Third.* Planning ways and means and methods for "quieting" (chloroforming) the desperate unemployed and any other

workers and professional people who have wit enough and pride enough to become disgusted when they understand the system and the god that are served by giving beefsteaks and lamb chops to buzzards in preference to men, women and children.

*Fourth.* Planning the lies, frauds, bluffs, tricks, swindles, prayers, and pretenses for justifying (and sweetly explaining) the *steady withholding from the workers of rewards sufficient to buy plenty* of the plenty which the workers have stood steadily ready to produce for all the people.

In short, the mighty "plans" consist of makeshifts, moonshine, stop-gap "reforms and relief,"—yes, anything, harmful or helpful (and much is helpful), good, bad, vicious, precious or ridiculous, anything and everything **except abundance** for the common people: any national tinkering helpful in defending, upholding and prolonging the profit system to the last possible hour,—ways and means for staving off the fateful days when the loathesome carcass of the profit system is kicked into its grave in social explosion; or (far, far better) is quietly and legally buried by proud and peaceful citizens who understand the profit system.

In all the statesmen's planning there is a crafty silence, a silence like the sinister silence of a gliding reptile. Yet, in meaning, this silence is louder than bellowing jeers: the silence on this nation's power to produce abundance for everybody.

The solemn bunk of plans for mere subsistence, with steady, sly and vicious silence on plenty for everybody,—*this* is the kiss from the lips of Judas to soothe and betray the workers to the profit-mad Pilates of the twentieth century.

### KILL 'EM OFF!

Of course if the unemployed were simply "killed off" it would solve the problem of excess labor on the labor market. Destroying hogs helps prevent too many hogs on the hog market. Same principle! Since the workers can't be openly slaughtered, arrange a dangerously low provision level, and let 'em die off faster.

Hark! Hear the workers plead:

"O, masters of the bread, at least *speak* of plenty, plenty for everybody."

Hear the masters reply:

"Plenty? Forget it! As the industrial dictators of America we have legalized and constitutionalized our plan of production for profits. We have the constitutional right to stall the nation's industries and prohibit full-capacity production if we

choose and when we choose, though a dozen million be unemployed, though fifty million be in want, though a hundred million live on less than plenty,—plenty they are willing and able to produce. And we have the constitutional right to shoot any and all who are proud enough and brave enough to *strike* for *more*, if they become noisy while they hunger and shiver out on strike."

In a land so fair, so full, so famous for its bulging wealth!

The general plan of the big quack doctors of industry is to do as little as seems politically "safe," but enough to prevent the starvation of millions of Americans of the working class. That's all.

For the employed and the farmers,—a continuance of "living" wages or incomes to meet the "proper" expenses of working people,—a lean living and worry, with compulsory pinching and belittling saving to "get by" and still "lay by" a little from an income that meets only the bare needs of existence. That's all, for all time.

For the unemployed,—a steady denial of the right to work. For the millions whose labor can not be ground into profits because it would result in abundance,—merely this:

"Subsistence!" That's all. Subsistence beaneries, subsistence flophouses, subsistence breadlines and soup kitchens, subsistence "relief," subsistence "self-help,"—petty factories for producing dull denims, cheap mattresses, coarse shoddy blankets, etc., subsistence community gardens, subsistence jobs at subsistence wages (if and when employed), subsistence "social security," as low as \$19 a month, cunningly arranged to whip the ragged, half-starved, desperate wretches into the clutches of the profit-lusters at any wage offered. \$19 a month! sufficient to pay for a gloomy, smelly room at 30 cents a day and three 10-cent meals. with nothing left for clothing, laundry or anything else.

Sublime conception of justice!—just the right wage to provoke loud, sneering ha-ha's in hell at "Christian statesmanship"—\$19 a month!

Subsistence "generously" provided, while plenty rots unused, all this prayerfully rose-tinted planned poverty, all this is born in hearts of ice and stone, and is foisted upon the toilers with smug smiles that should shame a laughing hyena. This is the thorny crown of legalized sabotage the captains of industry and their cringing statesmen have for years crowded down on the brow of the multitude; and these things reveal what the American masters, if permitted, will do in the years to come,



with increasing brutality, as our national production capacity increases far, far beyond the modest 90 billions of 1929.

Always they are prompt, loud and bitter in their malignant opposition to *any* plans, planning or planners urging that the workers be rewarded with plenty to buy plenty.

Relief? Yes.

Charity? Yes.

Abundance? Never. Never!

Life skinned, pared down to rag-clad bones too marrowless to generate the red blood of health,—this is the planning of “Christian statesmanship” for the “common herd” in the richest land on earth, unopposed by the almost unanimous leaders of the hosts marching under the banner of the Man of Galilee!

The center and substance of this planning is simply and definitely this: In spite of all industrial progress, regardless of plenty possible for everybody, the social program always, now and for all the future of unborn generations, through the sullen, sodden years, shall be as follows:

Cheap, lean existence for Labor, and silence, monstrous silence, forever on plenty for the common people; and

Profits, piled up profits, for the Few.

That’s all forever! if we are dull enough to keep the profit system,—yes, forever.

Reader, I insist on my right to use the terrible word, and call this *stinking* statesmanship.

These plans show forth the sublime contempt of the nation’s masters for the industrially damned; and **must be understood by the damned and condemned by the damned.**

However vicious and ridiculous these plans and principles may seem to be, they are, nevertheless, the *essence of the defense* of the system of production for profits; and these principles guide and dominate the planners,—all planners who accept and defend production for *profits for some people* instead of *plenty for all the people*. Under the profit system these plans are operated, and must be operated, and must be protected by the government, be it Republican or Democratic. As long as the people accept the profit system they must, and they do, elect governments to protect the profit system. Having taken an oath to protect the constitution, and the nation’s institutions under the constitution, our officials, the President for example, must, of course, protect the fundamental institution, the profit system; and no President, good or bad, progressive or reactionary, dare attack the employ-

ers' right to reward the workers with less than plenty to buy plenty.

"Social Planning" has had more attention and discussion during the last ten years than it had during all the preceding seven thousand years. Due to the war, the industrial collapse, the vast unemployment, the rising tide of resentment of conditions, the great illustrations of reconstruction, the planning for further reconstruction,—due to all these and other causes, *social planning* is daily more and more the thought and the theme of conversation. Thousands of pamphlets and hundreds of books are appearing, treating the subject of social planning.

Now with the advance of science and invention, two things are inevitable:

Wealth will pile higher for the Few;

Poverty will deepen for the Many.

Think of 25 million American citizens in poverty,  
25 millions more sinking into poverty,  
75 millions cursed with fear!

All this is fundamentally wrong, and calls for rapid fundamental change. "New occasions teach new duties." The amazing increase of poverty and fear of poverty in the richest country on earth is unnecessary, absurd, unsocial and vicious, and calls loudly for an immediate change in our national policy, to force open the doors of industry for all who are willing to produce plenty for all immediately and always. Reason, justice and decency cry aloud against the present organized, legalized stupidity and savagery of scarcity in this land of plenty.

Indeed, as our children become baffled, as our markets become more and more inadequate, as the ruthless crew further bind burdens upon us for their profit, we may favorably consider three *new* ideas:

a. Plenty for all who work or are willing to work, is a sane, sound social policy.

b. Production for profit is not a sacred and final system.

c. Production for use is the wide-open route to the policy of plenty for all.

Long ago the late Dr. Albion W. Small, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Chicago, wrote, "We are operating a property system which already looks to me, and I believe it will some day look to everybody, as primitive as the

old cable cars now look to Chicago people, in contrast with electric equipment.”<sup>a</sup>

## TESTS

### Of Social Planners and Their “Social Planning”

All masters of all ships always and everywhere are guided by two supreme questions:

First,—What port is sought?

Second,—Does the ship possess the power to drive the ship to port?

Similarly, all statesmen in America henceforth must always be judged by their answers to two questions:

First,—What grade of welfare should the common people have?

Second,—Is this country able to produce plenty?

Social planning is *incompetent* or *fraudulent* if it does not start from and is not guided by these two facts:—the social fact that plenty is not too much for the common people, and the physical fact that we are now able to produce plenty for everybody.

Now that we understand this thing, this devilish rake-off system called capitalism (the wage-profit system) that solves the problem of “over-production” by preventing production and refusing plentiful reward for all to buy the plenty, now that we understand this vicious thing,—what shall we do about it?

Well, first of all, we can’t depend upon Santa Claus. Industrially we must be our own redeemers. We can get away with it too.

This malady can’t be cured  
by passing it up,  
by passing the hat,  
by passing the buck.

How to solve the problems of the present crisis? Proceed as follows:

Ignore the *headache* of Big Business caused by “over-production”; concentrate upon the *heartache* of the common people.

Remember, to ask for justice is a waste of time,—like coaxing an iceberg, like whimpering for favors from a deaf god. Parasites never willingly go to work.

“Never do the exploiters of their own motion abolish serfdom, or slavery, or absolutism, or turn loose the dependency,

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<sup>a</sup>*Between Eras*, p. 428, published in 1913.

or socialize great estates, or adopt progressive taxation, or extend public ownership. Slavery, serfdom, peonage, landlordism, industrial feudalism, absolutism and monopoly have never been ended by consent.”\*

The people must *compel* the masters to proceed with industry regardless of profits, or surrender the industries to be operated by society, not for profits, but for general welfare. The workers must appoint themselves receivers for this cursed collapsing system of the nation's industry. The workers, from the toiler in the furrow to the agricultural engineer, from the worker at the furnace to the designing engineer,—the workers, not revengefully, but firmly, must take full charge of industry and conduct it in the light of science and in the name of the new justice. They must organize it into a real commonwealth, or cooperative industrial state, wholly committed to the doctrine that plenty is not too much and the best is not too good for the humblest farmer, miner, machinist, teacher, engineer, or any other person willing to serve society.

### THE BIG TRICK

Private owners of the mills, mines, factories, etc., stand between the workers and the things they work with, defying them and denying millions of workers the right to work at all, denying many more millions the right to work full time, and denying all the workers a reward sufficient to buy the plenty they are able to create. The private owners greedily and legally clutch the *means of production* as private property, and are thus the masters of the multitude.

With the long, strong lash of taxation the masters can be compelled to give up their power and surrender industry to society for social ownership, social control and social welfare.

**TAX THEM TILL THEY GET OUT OF OUR WAY**  
so we can all work and produce abundantly, without dividing up (giving profits and dividends) with private owners of the industrial foundations of society. Then we can produce plenty for all, and all have plenty by rewarding the workers with the full value of the product of their labor, undiminished by rent, interest, profits and dividends.

If the Supreme Court declared the tax unconstitutional, the people could declare the Court's decision unconstitutional, because of the Sixteenth Amendment.

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\*Dr. Edw. A. Ross: *Principles of Sociology*, First Edition, p. 153, published by D. Appleton-Century Co.

The Sixteenth Amendment is part of the Constitution. But the Supreme Court has (*by interpretation*) declared the Sixteenth Amendment unconstitutional!!!

HERE IT IS:

CONGRESS SHALL HAVE POWER TO LAY AND COLLECT TAXES ON INCOMES FROM WHATEVER SOURCE DERIVED WITHOUT APPORTIONMENT AMONG THE STATES AND WITHOUT REGARD TO ANY CENSUS OR ENUMERATION.

With this revolutionary weapon, the Sixteenth Amendment, we can wring justice from the fist of Caesar. We can constitutionally tax the strategic industrial property of the powerful, the "higher bracket" income people, and thus persuade them into a willingness to permit industry to proceed full force to produce plenty for everybody.

(See also Question 66, last chapter.)

#### A PRODUCTION-FOR-USE PROGRAM

1. Socialize the ownership of the means of production;
2. Socialize the management of the means of production;
3. Socialize the purpose of using the means of production;
4. Give equal opportunity to use the means of production;
5. Reward the workers with plenty to buy the plenty they are eager and able to produce;
6. "If he will not work, neither shall he eat,"—no more dividing up with a master class of private owners of the means of production;
7. Use the best possible machinery, tools, materials and technological knowledge;
8. Cut out all possible waste, and all parasitic, legalized robbery.

The telegraph, telephone, and radio stations, the railways, mills, mines, factories, forests and other dominant means of production, distribution and communication shall become public property, to be used *not* to produce profits for part of the people, but to produce and distribute plenty, always plenty for everybody.

Wouldn't that be fairly just? Isn't that a fair plan for fair play and plenty and justice?

This will destroy the class struggle, the struggle between those who *do* and those who *don't* privately own the industrial foundations of society. This will become the foundation of the Great Fraternity of the New Order. This will sweeten the lives of the workers, and improve the morals of the loafers and looters.

For example, take a power plant.

On the average three and a half cents a kilowatt hour covers *all* so-called legitimate costs of production and transmission of electricity to the people of the United States; and covers also "a 6% return on all *useful* fixed capital; and *also* an additional 5½% on such capital to cover depreciation, insurance and taxes." And *in addition* to all this "cost of production" charge (much of it rake-off), the domestic consumers of the United States pay \$300,000,000 *more* annually; and this \$300,000,000 is, by decision of the United States Supreme Court, exempt from income taxes if paid in stock dividends. This \$300,000,000 is equivalent to a \$5000 a year net income for 60,000 families, or a population of 300,000 persons riding free in the profit saddle.\*

Willis J. Spaulding, President of the Public Ownership League of America, says that light and power users together in this country pay nearly \$500,000,000 in excess of fair cost of the service.

Which would be easier?—

To raise the 7 or 8 billion dollars necessary for new capital by taxing ourselves, and escape the mountain of the hold-up,  
or  
continue with the profit system and let private owner-capitalists continue in the saddle?

Figure it out for yourself,—thus:

The average cost of dams, hydro-electric plants, transmission lines, etc., is less than \$150 per horsepower. At that rate a 50,000-horsepower plant would cost \$7,500,000, which would be sufficient to pay for the labor of 2500 men for 375 eight-hour days. Remember, the original raw material, iron ore, copper ore, lumber, clay, and so forth, in original condition, are free gifts of Nature, and therefore in final analysis the total actual cost is labor,—for digging, mining, lumbering, loading, hauling, molding, manufacturing, surveying, engineering, installing and housing the machinery, building the dam and tunnels, putting up distributing equipment, etc.

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\**The Consumers' Defender*, March, 1935, p. 6, reporting the findings of the New York Power Authority.

Then these creators of the power plant walk out and leave their creation for all time,—leave it in the hands of private owners as a profit-device for thousands of years.

A machine made of metal, constructed in a few days (or hours), carefully tended and well oiled *may last twenty-five years*. But this machine is built *once* and repaired but a few times. At \$12 per horsepower per year the income will be \$600,000, netting \$350,000 above operation and upkeep, superintendence, repair and office expense.

What did Nature do?

Nature furnished all the raw materials *free*,—lumber, metals, etc.

And also makes the water run downhill free.

What did the capitalists do?

1. Permitted (!) 2500 men to work 375 days;

2. Furnished these 2500 men evidence that they had worked for 375 days. This evidence was in the form of pieces of green paper called money, which was exchanged at the stores for food, clothing, shelter, etc., *for their use while doing the work*, and these supplies had already been produced by *other members of the working class*.

The capitalists got in between two groups of the working class and pulled off the green paper trick, and came out *private* owners of what the workers had produced; and this private property right in a social service equipment (the power plant) gives the capitalist group power to pull down the equivalent of \$5000 a year for each of 70 families for 25,000,000 years.

The workers do all, all, all; and as their reward they have a cheap living for 375 *days*. The private owners have a handsome living income *forever*, and without work! First the cheap living for the workers for a brief season; then profits for the private owners as a saddle on which to ride through the future.

The late Dr. Chas. P. Steinmetz, one of America's greatest engineers, in a gracious letter to the present author, wrote that while the 1400 cubic miles of water falling every day on the United States could not, of course, all be captured for hydro-electric production, still sufficient could be captured for 100,000,000 horsepower at a cost quite within reason. Of this amount over eighty million horsepower are at this date (1937) still undeveloped, but *could* be developed and set to work,—dams, power-plants and transmission lines, for the equivalent of the national loss in the unemployment of 12 million workers for two years. (See Chapter, Labor as Garbage.)

If developed by society for society's use, instead of for private profits, this 80 million horsepower would be sufficient to furnish electricity for everybody for every purpose for nothing, or nearly nothing, forever; and thus there would be a great reduction in the production cost of nearly everything else for everybody forever. Savings and benefits would more than balance the cost of upkeep, management, production and distribution, thus:

A. Being a social enterprise, accomplished by society for itself by itself, and not through profit-and-dividend investors, there would be no figuring in of "interest on investments" for private individuals for twenty to fifty years.

B. By immense savings and advantages.

1. The huge saving of expense in mining, shipping and handling vast quantities of coal and oil, now amounting to scores of millions of dollars. (One third of the freight handled by the Lehigh Valley Railroad is coal.)

2. By the vast water conservation for irrigation in the production of crops and herds on millions of acres of water-redeemed land.

3. By the release of immense land areas better suited to priceless forestation.

4. By flood control of

a. water held back behind dams, and

b. water held back in vastly extended forest areas.

5. By protection against the present tragic soil erosion. The cost of soil erosion to American farmers is \$200,000,000 a year, according to the Department of Agriculture. The loss in solid matter is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  billion pounds; in phosphoric acid, nitrogen, potash, etc., it is 54 billion pounds. 500,000,000 tons of suspended matter is carried annually into the lakes, gulfs and surrounding oceans. 17,500,000 acres once cultivated are said to be now lost beyond reclamation; unless checked the total loss in the next hundred years will be a hundred million acres.\*

6. By protection against soot damage, losses now reaching many millions in cities. St. Louis uses soft coal and has 17,600 dust particles per cubic foot; Boston using anthracite has 5360, according to Stuart Chase.

7. By advantageous climatic changes effected through numerous artificial lakes and through extensive forestation.

8. By the almost incalculable total reduction in production cost of nearly everything, because of this convenient and free power supply.

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\*See report in *The Nation*, April 12, '33.



9. Of course the fishing, sporting, aesthetic values of new water areas, and the charm of great forests would surely be worthy national assets.

10. And certainly the nation's self-respect would be splendidly augmented in the realization of these enormous national savings and services.

### BUT WHAT ABOUT CAPITAL?

Here come the Big Boys of Big Business, the know-it-alls whose purpose and policy have hopelessly bungled the nation's "prosperity" into the present collapse, the pompous fellows who bellow about over-production while scores of millions are undernourished, poorly clad and meanly housed,—here they come eager to bluff you and me clear off the map and silence us forever with the following solemn question:

"What would you do for taxes, for funds to meet public expenses, for capital for labor, for extension, improvements and upkeep of production equipment?"

Yes, indeed. Some bluff! Millions of pilfered slaves are slyly paralyzed with that loud, silly cry, "What about capital?" If we "can't do a thing" till the profiteers permit us to go ahead by "furnishing the capital," then, sure enough, they have us cornered,—a nation of slaves, fleeced, stalled and laughed at. So it's up to the multitude to consider the facts.

Well, 30 million families averaging \$5120 a year income could (if necessary) furnish an average of \$1120 a year each to a common social fund, and still have \$4000 a year left. This would give a fund of \$33,600,000,000 to cover the following items of expense:

a.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  billions to match the unparalleled taxes of 1930. (The total federal, state and local taxes in that year were \$10,424,424,000, and the average for the 15 years preceding 1933 was less than 8 billion dollars. This included  $3\frac{1}{2}$  billions for education.)

b. 2 billion dollars more for education, thus raising the nation's standard of culture and also its production capacity.

c. 2 billions for the advancement of science (ten times as much as at present), thus again increasing the national production capacity.

d. 12 billions a year for pensions, equivalent to 10 million pensions at \$100 a month. This would be in addition to the huge pension fund included in the  $10\frac{1}{2}$  billion tax fund above.

e. 7 billions for capital fund. From 1922 to 1932 capital reinvestment averaged about 8 billion dollars annually, but by

1932 had dropped to five hundred million. In a production-for-use system certain vast "capital requirements" largely disappear. Under the profit system the "capital fund" (in the present sense of the term) is needed, chiefly, to cover four classes of cost items: 1, raw materials and power; 2, overhead; 3, replacement and upkeep; 4, labor. Consider them under a new socialized production-for-use system:

### 1. CAPITAL FOR RAW MATERIAL AND POWER.

All raw material in its original primary form comes from the earth, a gift of Nature. Nobody should be rewarded for simply owning a portion of the raw material supply (a portion of the earth). Under a socialized system, with the public having wit enough to own socially, collectively, the free gifts of Nature, the great stores of raw material, and the power sites, this large capital need largely vanishes. For raw materials not available in the United States we could exchange goods for goods. Happily the United States is the most self-sufficient economic national unit of all the sixty countries on earth. This is a vast advantage for us in setting up the new system here. Society would not need to buy what it already owned. Thus this first scarecrow disappears.

### 2. CAPITAL FOR OVERHEAD EXPENSES, such as rent, interest, guaranteed dividends, etc.

These are simply forms of profit and disappear when the profit system is laid on the shelf as worn-out junk. In the illustration with the coal supply, the income to the private owners can be called profit, or rent, or interest, or royalties, or dividends. The *name* is unimportant; but the fact that under the profit system it is unearned rake-off *is* important. Don't you think so? Without this rake-off the "leisure class" will be set free in a free country, in which they will be perfectly free either to *help produce* plenty or go without the plenty. We have been solemnly assured many times that *good hard work* is just splendid and necessary in developing character. Well then, everybody should be free to make use of this "character developer." Something must be done about it, else these private owners will go right on for thousands of years thinking that plenty is too much for the workers. When all are workers plenty will seem about right to everybody for everybody.

### 3. CAPITAL FOR TOOLS, NEW MACHINERY, ETC.

Machinery wears out, has to be repaired, and new and better machinery must be installed. Here again, machinery, tools and factories are simply raw material upon which labor has been expended. This is discussed under "1." Here is another illustration. The raw material source of steel, a widely needed material, is iron ore, but as raw material it is a gift of nature, like coal; and the coal illustration\* serves in understanding the bluff of cost of raw material.

#### 4. AND WHAT ABOUT CAPITAL FOR LABOR EXPENSE?

It has already been pointed out that by 1937 a total of over 153 billion dollars could be produced and that *after* devoting 33½ billions to a general fund, of which 7 billions could be devoted to capital needs remaining after the disappearance of the usual capital needs of the profit system, there would be over 120 billions to go to labor (an average of \$4000 per family). The capital fund for labor would already be largely covered in this net income of \$4000 per family.

#### MACHINES DO NOT THROW MEN OUT

The pettiest purpose of machinery is profits for the unproductive individual owner. The largest purpose of machinery is life, more life, for the productive social users.

Science and invention give us the machine with which we can adjust ourselves to nature, — produce plenty.

The next step is the control of the machine socially, so that we may be adjusted to one another socially. If purchasing power equaled producing power, industry could go forward with a rush, with unparalleled demand for production engineers for increasing production. But under the production-for-profits system, buying power almost collapses when abundance is produced.

The profit system is inadequate, and business is incompetent. Remember, the purpose, policy and practice of the present system are too narrow and parasitic for further progress in the twentieth century. Remember also; they would if they could, — find a market; they don't; therefore they can't. The plutes can't find, but the workers can find, all the market needed to banish the panic and make the factories roar with industry and fire the farms with creative activity.

The market? Plenty of market! Easy!

Just reward the workers with incomes sufficient to buy and enjoy what they produce.

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\*See pp. 172-173.

PRODUCTION FOR USE, production for large, generous use of our nation's resources by *all who work*, — this is the only way out — production *by* all, production *for* all, and production of plenty for all always to use, the total product to be undiminished by profits to a class of parasites for their heavy work of owning privately the things the workers use in production.

“To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, is a worthy object of any good government.”

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Of course under a production-for-use system the sky is the limit: let the workers produce plenty and also let them enjoy plenty. Why not? This would solve the problems:—

- of over-production,
- of under-consumption,
- of unemployment,
- of market for farm products, manufactured articles and  
all other goods and services,
- of want, fear and worry in twenty million homes,
- of millions of days of illness due to under-nourishment and  
lack of medical and dental care,
- of waste of foods, labor and life,
- of strikes, and soldiers and gas bombs to suppress strikes,
- of headache and worry now afflicting statesmen and big  
business men trying to think what to do,
- of education for the children of the multitude,
- of happy homes for 100 millions in this country,
- of finer, higher phases of life for everybody,
- of the danger of fascism.

(Please have ten persons read this message.)

Whoop and hurrah for the new home market for American goods! Hip! Hip! Hip! and Hurrah! A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Era for 45 million wage-earners and farmers and their rejoicing families! Let's make life mean all that science now stands ready to make it mean for all of us now.

Labor is the highest possible title deed to the right to live and live well. The right to live abundantly must be based upon the willingness to work and contribute to the abundance. Those who are able to produce, but produce nothing, shall have all they produce, and no more.

But of course if the common people are tame enough and dumb enough to *think* plenty is too much for them, then this solution for these problems will never be applied, — never, never!

In a country abounding in plenty, those are "fit" to live well who believe they should live well, — believe that plenty is not too good or too much for them.

Shall we keep the system of profits for the Few and scarcity for the Many?

Or shall we have a system of Production for Use with plenty for everybody?

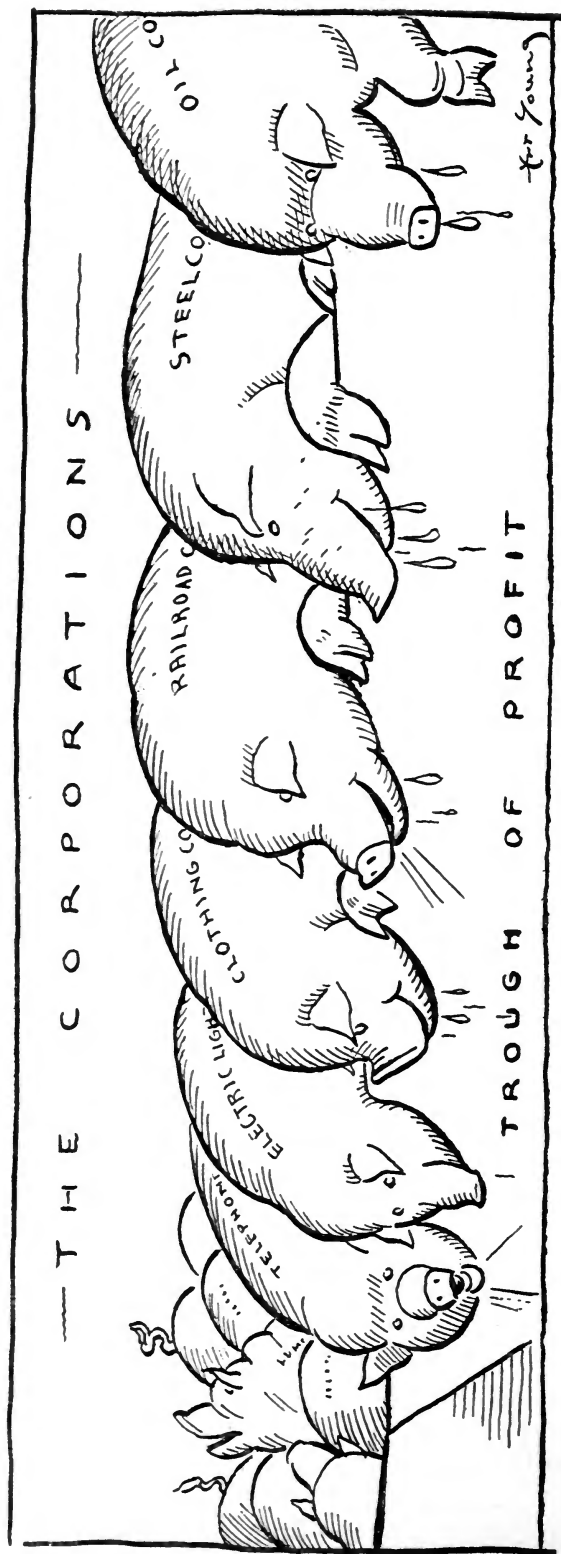
Think it over and take your choice of these two social-industrial philosophies. You can't have both at the same time.

At least get two things straight:

1. *Nature destroys any species* that can not, or will not, adapt itself to profound revolutionary changes in conditions (its environment).

2. Barring future insane world wars, *the world will march on*, upward, for millions of years, *leaving behind* national groups here and there that are too "wise," too "smart," too cocky, to watch the world and its experiments and learn ever better ways of doing things.

We must plan or perish; cooperate or collapse into national poverty.



THEY HAVE BEEN FED ENOUGH; TIME TO BUTCHER!

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE NEW DEAL

But What About the Great Liberal, President Roosevelt?

When I recall Mr. Hoover's two billion dollar dole to Big Business; his Sunday night 90 million dollar dole to the eminent ruffian Dawes and his cronies of the Central-Republic Bank and Trust Co.; and his snorting sneer at the mere suggestion of federal help for the desperate; and the burning of the tents of war-scarred veterans, and their forcible ejection from their country's capital; and when I think of what would have been in store for us in case of victory for the Sunflower candidate, who boasted of his liberalism and of his heroic loyalty to the teachers of his wealthy state when their salaries averaged \$700 less than the teachers' salaries in the far poorer state of Colorado, —when I think of these things and many similar things, I think of Mr. Roosevelt's work as magnificent—*comparatively*.

But I do not forget that *the supreme enemy of the best is the "somewhat better,"* because the "somewhat better" acts as chloroform on the average brain, and renders most people blind with cheap contentment, satisfied with *less than plenty*.

I read the generous phrases: "a fuller life for labor," the "more abundant life for the common man," — and am grateful, delighted; and then my soul is sickened with bitterness and sadness, humbled by the fact that my national government stands boldly for the hideous policy of *artificial scarcity*, while many millions hunger in shoddy.

What does Franklin D. Roosevelt stand for?

1. On plenty of the best for the common people, President Roosevelt is silent, — utterly silent, and thus he is disloyal to the working *class* and perfectly loyal to his own *class*.

No, no, oh no, reader, I do not forget, I do not wish to forget or cover up, good deeds done by our brave, fiery and forceful President and other men called "good and true;" but listen yourself to the truly awful silence on **abundance to the limit**.

This silence on Plenty when plenty is available, almost roars with meaning, and is a challenge to every man and woman (young or old) *who has wit enough and pride enough to want more*, — far more than a gypped life of merely "getting by," with constant narrow escape from quick or slow starvation,

vastly more than a stingy guarantee that "no one shall starve," more than the insult of "subsistence," more than a mere "living wage," — while billions of dollars' worth of the nation's food and fibre products are destroyed, and the production of billions of dollars' worth more of good things needed, is advised against, prevented or flatly prohibited. I refuse to overlook 5000 sheep in one pile, offered to buzzards and wolves in Wyoming.

Oh, certainly, of course we "can't get everything all at once," but why the **silence** on plenty?

2. He stands for the *profit system*.

On January 3, 1934, President Roosevelt in his annual message, said, "We shall, in the process of recovery, seek to move as rapidly as possible from direct relief to publicly supported work, and from that to a rapid restoration of *private employment*." That is, back to the normal profit system, — hand over the works to the big profit boys. But *they* with their profit system produced the depression. The workers under the "private employment" system are not permitted to buy abundantly though they are able to produce abundantly. It is thus under the N. R. A. wage codes, and it will be so when (or if), as Mr. Roosevelt urges, we have a "restoration of private employment" such as we had before the collapse.

On the day after the President's broadcast the American Association of Manufacturers announced it was ready, able and eager to invest \$20,000,000,000 on expansion of plants, of machinery, of delayed demand for durable goods, and thus make business boom, as soon as federal legislation suits *them*. Well, it suits *us* to have business boom now. We've wasted seven years on these Caesars! That's long enough. They say they *can* do it. Tell them: Go ahead or get out!

In seven years of Annual Messages and special messages and planning by two presidents of different types, certainly one of them, and perhaps both of them, "good fellows," charming men, personally, — in seven years of planning by presidential cabinets and our national legislature, in seven years' proposals by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Association of Manufacturers, in all these years from all these sources, precisely nothing has been planned or urged, requiring that this nation's industrial plant, with all the willing unemployed workers, shall proceed with full capacity production **up to the point of plenty for all**.

Through three terrible years of the Hoover Administration the plans included *all of nothing* for the working people; but



gigantic doles (\$2,788,000,000) to banks, railways and other dollar-marked Big Boy beggars yowling, "Help! Help! Help!"

### BUT THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION?

Well, after two years as President, Mr. Roosevelt proudly announced, "Nobody shall starve," and on October first, 1936, President Roosevelt said at Pittsburgh with obvious pride (!), "I had promised, and my administration was determined, to keep the people of the United States *from starvation*." But his plans include half-starving for tens of millions in the midst of plenty. And not even one brave, bold mention of plenty. Also from Roosevelt's *enemies* in Congress, — from these also not a whisper about plenty in this land of plenty. Oh, no; just keep them from starvation; that is, from quick starvation. Gradual starvation is not so bad, at least it is not so noticeable, and therefore not so dangerous. Starving rapidly or suddenly might wake the dead. No, no! don't let 'em starve too quickly; tease 'em and ease 'em along. Let them go quietly, shuffling across the stage of life, floundering through the fogs and bogs of lean and miserable existence, undernourished, easy victims of disease, their rags flapping in the breeze, to sink into the grave, not too fast, but ahead of time, gradually, politely, so it won't hurt, or at least won't attract the attention and rouse the red-hot wrath of the working class. That's all! "Nobody shall starve!" Give them a little something. 'Tisn't fair to let the buzzards have it all.

How nobly gracious! How gloriously generous! What far-stretching vision! What a sweep of imagination fired by a "warm heart beating true."

But what about many millions of little children, proud youths and sensitive growing-up girls, humbled and ashamed of their shabbiness in school? What about pale and worried mothers and desperate fathers, tens of millions of them? What about strong tendencies to pneumonia, "TB," etc., developed in poverty, just above starvation, developed through lack of good clothing, plenty of food, good shelter, and plenty of good bed furnishings, tendency to rickets developed through long, cruel years of malnutrition and exposure?

Oh well, never mind. They'll get used to it, and won't protest, if crucified *slowly* on the cross of want, and sink into their graves many years before their time.

In all this boasted planning for dumb animal needs in "living wage" schedules and subsistence for the unemployed, — in all this, what of cultural needs? What of the loftier forms and

phases of life for the common people? What of decent leisure, with plenty and security from want and fear of want, not only for the unemployed, but for the employed, borne down by debt and lack of markets, and also for the ruined and befuddled middle class, all held down under the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROFIT SYSTEM? What of plenty for abundant life for all these?

Nothing. Precisely nothing. Rather, the scheme is:

Dope the weak;

Trick the meek;

Bribe the mean;

Arm the guard;

Crush the proud, if "common trash."

Fool or force the *entire "common herd"* to bend their necks and take the yoke of less than plenty, now and forever. Bleed them steadily with helpless poverty and thus keep them *grateful for the crusts* of life in the grind of the profit system. Chloroform them. Weaken their moral spines with "Bologna is better than no meat at all," lest agitators stiffen their spines and expand their vision with thoughts of porterhouse steaks and the lovelier life of plenty and culture.

Culture! Thousands of school boards and college trustees stand ready to discharge promptly any and all teachers who dare explain that all who work or are willing to work, are worthy of plenty of the best, and that the prohibition of plenty for everybody is ridiculous, vicious and unsocial.

This! This! In the proudest century of a million years, for the foremost country on this planet, for the richest land of all lands, where abounding potential plenty is smiling everywhere for everybody here and now. Chattering, fluttering statesmen and flattering "uplifters of the poor," these well-dressed, well-salaried lackeys and their masters, all these plan pretentiously to "help the poor" indeed; but by their silence on plenty for everybody they secretly sneer at those they "serve." (There are some glorious exceptions among the social workers.)

Keep in mind, reader: No matter how decent and wholesome and magnificently courageous a President and his cabinet may be, while the profit system lasts, and while these distinguished citizens are legally placed in office to administer this system, this policy and practice will continue, whether the administration be Republican or Democratic.

### THE NEW DEAL

The New Deal found the "forgotten man," gave him relief and forgot him. The "forgotten man" is cruelly forgot-

ten and the New Deal is the old game of less, always far less, than plenty for the plain people.

But what about the liberal labor legislation proposed and promoted by President Roosevelt?

### H. O. L. C.

The government simply gave the banks ample guarantees against loss while the banks made the profits by furnishing funds for "repairs and modernization of homes" at 7%.

### A. A. A.

This taxes all of us to hold up some of us, while we destroy or agree not to produce plenty for everybody. To teach farmers the destruction and restriction program, the government employed its agricultural extension service, newspapers, press associations, farm journals, county weeklies, national periodicals, radio, public meetings, posters, and special workers. After spending hundreds of millions of dollars from taxes to stimulate and increase production, the government has spent billions of dollars to decrease production. In 1935 alone the government payments (subsidies) to prevent the production of plenty amounted to \$460,000,000. I flatly refuse to forget or for one moment overlook the immortal 'Kill five million hogs, kill a million young sows, kill a million cows,' and the rest of the hideous business satisfactory to buzzards, when scores of millions of my humble brothers and sisters were desperately hungry, and hundreds of thousands of them, in rags, were clubbed from town to town by brutal policemen, under orders from chambers of commerce.

### C. C. C.

Hundreds of thousands of "tramp" boys and young unmarried men, whipped into the C. C. C. relief camps with the lash of starvation, are used to fight forest fires, build roads and conservation dams, and so on, for bunk, feed and \$1.00 a day, with 80 cents deducted daily for the "maintenance of dependents," thus taxing the helpless C. C. C. boys instead of the high-bracket income folks, for relief funds.

### R. F. C.

Out of a total of 4,143 million dollars, big business organizations were given 3,300 million, or over 79%, according to one of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's own reports. For instance, the railway boys ran to the government for help in time of trouble, and got \$90,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See article by Scott Nearing in *The Farmer-Labor Leader*, Feb. 1, '34.

## RELIEF

The New Deal averages the expenditure of four billion dollars a year as "work relief" pay for 48 states and the District of Columbia, in such manner that in towns of 5000 or less, no workers, skilled or unskilled, or professional, shall receive more than \$15.25 a week, and allowing but one worker per family to have such work. This gives an average per person (in families of five) of less than fifteen cents per meal, and no allowance for rent, clothing, medical care, amusements, etc. The average relief for the entire country was \$22 per month; it must have been far less than this in large areas, since, e.g., in New York 2,000,000 are on relief where the average is \$40 per family.\*

## WHY?

Why does the Federal Government under the New Deal send out urgent requests to manufacturers and to state and municipal authorities to have the workers work as much as possible by hand, or with old-fashioned tools, instead of with the best modern equipment?

The answer is easy: The Federal Government serves the capitalist class, and both the Government and the ruling class agree that it is unnecessary and undesirable to have workers produce abundantly, unless the product can be sold at a profit.

Why does the Federal Government stand ready with courts, jails, militia and army to defend employers against workers who strike for more than the minimum wage provided in the N. R. A. codes?

Because the Federal Government is the executive committee of the capitalist class, and agrees with the capitalist class that plenty is too much for slaves. And even Organized Labor does not urge and demand wages that would give the worker abundance. They never, never suggest or even mention plenty of the best for all who work, or even for union labor; for they still agree, as a group, with their masters that plenty is too much for *toilers*.

What about "subsistence farms" for the unemployed?

The very word "subsistence" reveals the cruelty and cunning of the "subsistence farm" policy:

(a) Only mere existence (subsistence) is expected or proposed for the "fired" slave "on relief."

(b) The more the "fired" worker slaves in self-support on the subsistence farm, the less taxes the plutes will

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\*"Behind the Curtain," *The American Guardian*, Oct. 11, '35.

have to pay, and also the less they will have to chip into the community chest. Pretty smooth!

### THE PRESIDENT'S GOAL

Declaration by President Roosevelt when signing the NIRA: "It's goal is the assurance of a reasonable profit to industry, and living wages for labor . . . ."

### ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW DEAL WHOSE RECOVERY?

In the first year of the New Deal the revenues from income-tax payers with incomes less than \$10,000 *decreased* 5% over 1932; the top 8000 (incomes over \$50,000) *increased* 10% over 1932; the top 2000 *increased* 16% over 1932. In the same year the number of persons with incomes of over \$1,000,000 increased from 20 to 46; in 1935 the number was 41; in 1936 it had risen to 61.\*

#### 1934

The NRA Research and Planning Division estimated the number of unemployed in March, 1933, as 13,577,000, and in December, 1934, as 10,850,000,—a decrease of less than 21%, while the profits of the largest corporations had more than doubled in 1934 as compared with 1933, and had increased approximately 430,000 per cent since the first nine months of 1932.

Comparing the first nine months of 1934 with 1933, The Federal Reserve Board reported a rise of more than 70% in all industrial profits, 25% in wage payments, and 20% in farm incomes, including benefit payments; with food prices 27% above those of April 1933. *The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Leader* (Jan. 5, '35) justly comments, "It's a fairly good picture of the Capitalist System at work. Whatever advance was gained by workers and farmers was offset by higher prices for necessities. And the increased profits of Big Business were 3½ times the farm increase, and nearly 3 times the advance in wages."

#### 1935

According to the American Federation of Labor, the number of unemployed in 1935 was 11,600,000; and business had recovered 50% from the depression's lowest point; but employment volume had recovered only 25%.<sup>4</sup>

\*Treasury Department reports on income tax returns. See *The Progressive*, March 5, 1938.

<sup>4</sup>Editorial, *American Federationist*, January, 1936.

The national income in 1936 was 60 billion dollars; that was 30 billions less than it actually was in 1929.

60 billions less than it could have been in 1929,

90 billions less than it could have been in 1937.

(See Chapter III.)

That national income was 12% higher than in 1935; but the wage advance nowhere equaled 12%, and the advance in dividends was 43% during the same time. The rise of prices had eaten up the advance in wages.

(Even in 1938, after all the government money poured into the market, and all the other government palliatives, the total production for that year was only about 60 billion dollars, as announced by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress January 4, 1939.—F. H. K.)

The Federal Reserve bankers are alarmed over their excess reserves: too much money, interest too low. Business is tottery and interest so low because there is no market in sight for what could be produced if the vast surpluses of capital were drawn out and devoted to new factories and the latest and best machinery. A federal law raised reserve requirements 50% (making less money available for foolish business men). Interest is still so low that the big chief, W. W. Aldrich, President of the Board of Directors of the huge Chase National Bank, in the January, 1937, issue of the *Bankers' Magazine*, fairly screams his urgent desire that the Federal Reserve Banks be required to increase their reserve fund.

### THE MEANING OF NRA

Following the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century and the wonderful industrial progress up to, say, 1830, how much did your grandfather get when long ago he worked for wages?

Just sufficient to buy cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap shelter and some cheap furniture. Right?

Then came swift industrial progress, multiplying the workers' power to produce. *But* what did your father get when he worked for wages?

Just sufficient to buy cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap shelter and some cheap furniture. Right?

Then came greater, swifter, amazing progress in multiplying the workers' power to produce, reaching a climax in 1929, when we actually produced a 90-billion-dollar income. Even

so, what did you get then and what do you get now, working for wages?

Same old average, just sufficient to buy cheap food, cheap clothing, cheap shelter and some cheap furniture.

Thus it is perfectly clear that as a wage-earner (or farmer) you are "not in it." What do Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet Members and the President (including President Roosevelt),—what do these say about plenty for everybody?

Nothing! Not a word, not a squeak, not even a sickly whisper. At best they chatter about subsistence. The NRA takes no account of the stage at which we have arrived in industrial evolution, and nowhere proposes or mentions plans for plenty. Thus NRA means now and always will mean NOT RIGHT AWAY. NRA is salve for the sores of slaves, to keep them asleep, grateful for FAR LESS THAN PLENTY.

"But . . . , but," you say, "all this is unfair, unappreciative. What about the NIRA, the AAA, HOLC, the NLRB, the PWA and so on? Are all these to be dismissed with harsh condemnation?"

My answer is:

No. Ten thousand times, no.

My further answer to the farmer-labor plain people is: Seize all these relief measures and demand more, more, more, right away. Seize them all with your chin high, but *not as favors*. Seize them all, but take an oath: "*We'll be damned if we permit ourselves to be chloroformed, satisfied or silenced with any social plan that is silent on our country's power to produce plenty for all of us, silent on our willingness to help produce plenty for all, silent on our moral right to plenty in our land of plenty.*"

And last, Organize, and unite the nation's farm-and-labor multitude into a movement,—

1. To debate all comers, high or low, on the plain people's right to plenty;
2. To point out to the plain people that plenty for everybody is impossible under the system of production for profits;
3. To rouse and rally the multitude to come on to the war, the glorious war of ideas: *Planned Plenty for All* versus *Planned Scarcity for the Vast Majority*;
4. To break into every state legislature and our national legislature to push for Plenty, and *Plenty Now*.

You millions unemployed, partly employed, misemployed, forced to fiddle "by hand" at silly "made" work, unproductive

work, while splendid machinery rusts and rots,—you meanly paid multitudes at regular work, and you ridden, ruined farmers, let's talk it over. We must wake up, stand up and line up together with our souls hot for all of life. We are the common people, forced to take what our masters *permit* us to take, and no more.

Untamed, onward-marching Science fairly shouts to us:  
"Arise! Rejoice! and forever banish Poverty and Fear."

Shall Labor whine and whimper in want in the midst of plenty?

Science conquers, bridles, saddles Nature for Mankind,—for all of us to ride. Shall the plain people be too tame to mount and ride to the banquet of life?

Not for seven more years will many millions consent to part time and part pay; not for seven more years will many millions unemployed beg, "In God's name permit us to work."

Not for seven more years will a hundred million farmers consent to plow under cotton, to slash down fruit trees, kill milk-cows, and feed "surplus" pork to the buzzards, while scores of millions are hungry, ragged, and writhing under the lash of poverty.

Not for seven more years will a hundred million Americans accept the insulting "over-production" explanation of this misery.

Within seven years the attention of the multitude will be riveted to the 90,000-million-dollar mountain of evidence that we can actually produce plenty for everybody. In a hundred thousand halls, schoolhouses, parks, processions, conventions, picnics, at mouth of mine and factory door, we shall see the workers from the farms and from the towns unite their hearts, their aims, their voices; and make the nation ring with the thought:

Henceforth "good wages," "reasonable income," "social justice for the common man," "a more abundant life," "the American standard of living," etc.,—all these fine-flavored phrases of politicians must be made to mean plenty for everybody to the limit made possible by Nature, Science, Invention and Labor.

#### A SPEECH PREPARED FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

And now, reader, I have written a short speech for President Roosevelt to deliver over a nation-wide hookup. I trust you will bring this speech to the President's attention at once.



Of course he may be "too busy" to deliver it at once. However, here is the speech all ready for him,—and you:

## A LABOR DAY SPEECH (NOT) DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

"My Fellow Citizens:

"Today, Labor Day, 1939, the supreme joy of my life comes to me, the joy of making two extraordinary announcements which will thrill you, aye, more, will thrill all mankind.

"The first announcement is this: *The future has arrived*—in the United States. I mean that a situation has here developed toward which for ages men and women of all the world have longingly looked forward—a time, a stage of industrial-technological progress which actually makes it easily practicable to produce plenty—abundant plenty—for everybody; yes, really, everybody! Naturally I have the keenest possible pleasure in making this announcement at a time when at least a hundred million of our people are living on much less than plenty. Think of it, fellow citizens, plenty for everybody. The eyes of the world are upon us. Let us rise to the sublime situation, and rejoice in pride and gratitude.

"The second announcement is: Henceforth, in my plans and policies as President I shall be guided and controlled—every minute—by this supreme fact that our country is able to produce plenty for everybody. Henceforth I shall urge the Senate and the House of Representatives—I shall urge all governors and state legislatures, and the thousands of editors and educators—and also every labor leader in the land—I shall earnestly urge all—all of these to help me bring this glorious fact vividly to the attention of all the people, in order to rouse the people to want plenty, expect plenty and demand plenty—*not a dime less than plenty*.

"Whatever I can do I will do to make it mandatory that our nation's industries shall be set going and proceed at full capacity for the production of plenty for everybody. Moreover, I shall insist that the workers' reward shall be *plenty to buy plenty*,—that consumption privilege shall equal production, capacity production.

"With this huge purchasing power the multitude will buy in vast quantities: the depression will vanish. A new era will dawn—wholly new in the tragic history of mankind, the Better Day, Labor's Day. Here and now I urge every worker in this land to prepare for war, a new kind of war—not with guns

and shells and poison gas, but with facts, facts that rouse the reason to revulsion against the hideous, cowardly silence on plenty for everybody. O, toilers all—in mill and mine, in forest, office, schoolroom and on the farm—rouse, rouse for

*"The War Worth While:*

"A war for the *new* justice—plenty for everybody.

"A war for the *new* statesmanship—plenty for everybody.

"A war for the *new* goal—plenty for everybody.

"A war with wholly *new* social planning—plenty for everybody.

"A war with a *new* battle-cry: Plenty, Plenty, Plenty, not a Dime Less than Plenty for Everybody.

"A war with *new* ammunition and *new* weapons—facts that explode the piffle and drivel of less than plenty for everybody in a land of plenty for everybody. . . .

• • •

"Oh . . . Ugh . . . What! . . . Er . . . Help! Help! . . . Where am I? My God! What's happened? Oh, yes, . . . I was asleep! . . . I had a dream—it was awful, a wild nightmare. . . . The applause woke me! The applause seemed to shake the whole country—from ocean to ocean. Well, thank God . . . I'm here in bed safe all right. Yes, yes—it was a dream. . . . Now just imagine me, an aristocrat born and bred—at the radio whooping it up for plenty for everybody. How utterly ridiculous!! Please tell me why the workers should have plenty of the good things of life. They never mention such things—for themselves. And didn't they vote with a wild whoop for cold-blooded Cal Coolidge? And for the frigid and brutal Herbert Hoover who detests them?

"And look at the mountain of votes they piled up for me—the aristocrat who also despises them so thoroughly that I have arranged a minimum wage of \$19 a month for millions of poor devils who are cornered and whimpering under the lash of poverty. . . . Bah! Until the workers have wit enough to want plenty and grit enough to demand plenty and gumption enough to get together and go after plenty—why should I have respect for them?

"One of the very great differences between the 'better' class and the working class is this: the 'better' class insists on having plenty—and plenty of the best. (*That's what makes them better!*) But the working class as a whole never demands, never mentions, never even dreams of plenty for themselves.

"How wonderful it all is! The chloroform of bunk and

promises and piffle and rhetorically perfumed drivel are so much less expensive than soldiers and jails for keeping the working people in their places, gullibly contented with less, far less than plenty in a land of embarrassing plenty. Really, it is almost comical. Tra, la, la, la—it is so easy. I wonder how many speeches will be made this Labor Day with the usual careful—or stupid—silence on plenty for everybody.

“Well, at any rate I am glad that the speech I made in my dream will not be delivered anywhere by anybody—except, probably, by the Socialists. Secretly, quite secretly, I respect the Socialists. They refuse to take it lying down whimpering any stupid gratitude for less than plenty in a land of plenty. Politically, they will yet sweep the world, for they are wise to the situation. . . . And, of course, we, my class, are through as soon as the workers are roused to see the situation—clearly.”

### QUESTION!

At the present stage in the conquests of Science and Industrial Evolution, the supreme issue, the “question before the house,” is precisely this:

Is plenty too much, and the best too good for the common people who are willing and able to produce plenty?

Of course, our industrial ruling class has already decided that plenty is *not* too much for the ruling class, and also that it *is* too much for the rest of us. Thus this question is now up to the working class, the wage-earners, the farmers, and the rapidly ruined middle class. The ruling class will force their decision upon the working class just as long as the workers are too sleepy, or too stupid, or too tame to disagree with their masters on this question.

*You* answer that question, won't you? Answer now! and answer carefully too; for your answer may get you into deep water and pleasant mental trouble in two minutes (if you read this book).

If you have been spiritually stung, stunted, bluffed into contempt for yourself and contempt for your class, then your answer will be a bluffed slave's answer: “Yes, plenty is too much”; and you will also add, “A half loaf is better than no loaf at all,” just as all slaves have always been taught to answer. That answer has always delighted the slaves' masters.

BUT,—if you are an untamed, unbluffed worker, your soul awake and proud, your answer will be, “No, plenty is not too much for the workers, and a whole loaf is better than a half

loaf"; and you will boldly add, "Since we are able and willing to produce plenty, Justice from now on must include plenty, because the best is not too good and plenty is not too much **for the workers!**"

Oh, man! I'm proud of you if that is your answer. That is the answer of a soul too proud to surrender, a soul demanding all of life for all the workers. That's the answer that calls the bluff which for ages has bluffed the workers into stupid meekness, bluffed them into dividing up with the cunning social parasites who have ridden through the centuries on the backs of the robbed workers of the world.

Now one man, a hundred, or even ten thousand men can be ignored, laughed at, or silenced if they "ask too many questions"; but let ten million voices call for this question unitedly and defiantly, and right swiftly we shall have a national movement that will be able to bombard the nation's brain, and back the powerful minority of dictators into a corner, tear off their masks before the rousing multitude, and compel them to reveal their moral bankruptcy and their false god to forty million voters who will swiftly, quietly (and unvengefully) shove the profit system into the pit of oblivion, along with cannibalism, slavery and serfdom, and set up a system of production for use, and plenty to use, for all the people of this nation.

Fortunately, very fortunately, increasing millions of citizens now begin to concentrate their attention upon this question of plenty for all.

For the first time in a million years of human history, this question of producing, or not producing, plenty for all, begins to burn in the souls of millions who are not "dead," not confused, not meek. Roused, bold souls, no longer meek, shake the nation with

**"QUESTION! QUESTION! QUESTION!"**

This question is in order now. This nation can now produce abundantly for all the people of this country. Why then, just why, should a part of the people be permitted to *prohibit* the production of plenty for all the people?

Answer, good President Roosevelt. Answer, ex-President Hoover. Answer, United States Senate and House of Representatives. Answer, Supreme Court of the United States.

Answer, gentlemen of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and of the American Association of Manufacturers. Answer, Daughters of the American Revolution, and women of

the American Federation of Women's Clubs. Answer, editors, preachers and educators.

Ah, yes,—answer, brave, scarred men of the American Legion, who recently rescued a 500-million-dollar investment for America's financial dictators. Answer,—come back,—come back, spirits of 60,000 slain youths whose flesh now rots in graves on French and Belgian battlefields,—come back and answer for the living toilers, struck dumb with chloroform and custom.

Answer, Organized Labor, and unorganized Labor.

Answer, 6,000,000 farmers, eager and able to pile up mountains of food for all the people.

Answer, all of you, answer this simple question :

IS PLENTY TOO MUCH FOR THE WORKERS  
WHO ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO PRODUCE IT?

Question! Question! I call for the question. ██████████

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all,—the next step in the progress of mankind.

—F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—FROM WAR—WHAT FOR?

# CHAPTER XV

## REVOLUTION

"It appears that man is Nature's only rebellious son."—  
F. E. Lumley: *Principles of Sociology*, p. 63, published by  
McGraw-Hill Book Company.

### WHAT IS A REVOLUTION?

A social revolution is a **relatively rapid fundamental change** in one or more fundamental social institutions, methods or customs.

#### Examples:

The comparatively sudden increase in the electorate of the United States by full enfranchisement of women, almost doubling the number of voters, was a revolutionary change in our political institutions.

The rapid reconstruction of American industry from the old and stupid free-for-all competition method into the form of the trust, was a revolution in industry.

Revolutions in science are not uncommon, and are extremely fortunate usually. A most helpful revolution in medical science came swiftly, after it became known that the rapidly self-multiplying invisible parasites, known as germs or microbes, devoured and poisoned the living flesh, blood and bone of their victims.

Bach was a revolutionist in music; Watt, Lenoir and Diesel in power-producing and power engineering; Pestalozzi in education; Payne and Jefferson in politics; Moulton in higher criticism; Christ in religion.

Many lovely Americans are proud to trace their ancestry back to American revolutionists, and yet if they read or hear the word "revolution" in current discussion they have a dizzy spell. A revolution has been called a "successful rebellion." Well, it's true that if George Washington had been caught by the British he would have been hanged as a rebel, and the great change beginning in 1776 would have been called a rebellion that fizzled, instead of a revolution that succeeded; and our status now, quite likely, would have been that of Canada today.

The popular fear of revolution is due to the cunning teaching that all revolutions are cruel, vengeful, bloody affairs. The

amount of violence, blood and tears in social revolutions is determined almost entirely by the intensity of opposition to progress.

Don't get scared and hide under the bed when you hear the word "revolution." Imagine George Washington, or Alexander Hamilton, or Charles Darwin "frightened stiff" at the mention of the word "revolution," their faces blanched and their red blood changed to heatless yellow juice of cowards.

The Big Business Boys believe in revolution; they hurrah for the social revolution of the 18th century, in which the business man swiftly usurped the political and social power of the old nobility; and for the industrial change which revolutionized the labor-cost of production per unit and the number of units producible (mass production). They hurrah also for the first American Revolution that tore thirteen colonies from the British Empire; and for the second American Revolution, in which the Articles of Confederation were thrown to the winds and the new rigid Federal Constitution was adopted, which makes property sacred, and which the workers had no voice in the making; and also for the third American Revolution, by which the old-fashioned competitive industry was swiftly revolutionized into the gigantic trust and corporation form. U. M. Rose, one-time President of the American Bar Association, said the reconstruction of industry into the form of the trust was the deepest-reaching change in human society since the days of Jesus Christ.

Everybody believes in revolution; that is, in deep, swift changes in one or more fundamental institutions, habits, customs or methods,—if his intelligence is even slightly higher than that of primitive mammals.

#### ARE REVOLUTIONS STORMY, BLOODY AND VENGEFUL?

Some of them are, and some of them are not.

A revolution may be noisy and bloody and vengeful, as the first part of the American Revolution,

or

A revolution may be quiet, orderly and revengeless, as urged by the Socialists.

Some are stormy and violent in one phase, and bloodless in another.

The revolution "pulled off" by George Washington and the other early Americans was stormy indeed, using cannon, rifles and swords. George Washington and his friends knew what they wanted and boldly decided to go and get it. They told the Tories to get out of the way of the Revolution or get killed. All that was "100% American" in the great days of the Ameri-



can Revolution. Red-blooded American revolutionists surely set a terrible example for our generation of how to "put it over." But they were forced to resort to violence. Let us remember: The first American Revolution would have been perfectly peaceful but for crazy George III and his greedy crew.

The second phase of the Revolution was conducted largely by debate and discussion, behind closed doors in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, culminating in the formation and adoption of the new constitution.

## FORCE AND VIOLENCE

Do you know that the Standard Oil Company was built up partly by force and violence? When the Standard Oil Company with huge steel chains hitched a railway locomotive to a competitor's oil pipe-line and jerked sections of it from the earth, Mr. Rockefeller and his pals resorted to force and violence in helping effect the revolutionary change from competition to monopoly as a prevailing method of managing industry. Perhaps such an exhibition of force and violence was a bad example to set before the common people. The eminent lawyer, U. M. Rose, said the Standard Oil Company had rudely destroyed 10,000 independent oil dealers.

When 100,000 telegraph poles were rudely chopped down and destroyed along the lines of one railway we have another case of force and violence. Generally speaking, however, that industrial reconstruction was cruel and nasty, but not noisy nor violent.

Chattel slavery for thousands of years was a social procedure of force and violence; also serfdom with armed men in quarters by the castle.

The World War was force and violence for years on end, costing 400 billion dollars, with the clergy of the civilized world coaxing God to come and help in the force and violence exhibition.

The treaty of Versailles was a huge sample of force and violence.

Preparedness as a world-wide policy is a sign of the rule of the raiders with force and violence.

Don't forget employers' use of provocateurs to incite the workers to a resentment that justifies force and violence against them.

Washington employed force and violence for the promo-

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•Henry Demarest Lloyd: *Wealth Against Commonwealth*.

tion and defense of his ideas in opposition to his country and his flag.

Even Christ was provoked into the use of force and violence,—whipping the bankers from the temple.

Nature's way is largely a way of force and violence with divine sanction.

Two storms of "force and violence" have swept over America: in 1776 and in 1860. Yet the quiet way is the better way.

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Every working man on earth and his wife and sons and daughters should read and reread, and read again, Dr. R. H. Dabney's *Causes of the French Revolution*, to study and understand the *tragic patience* of the teased, starved, cursed multitude, doped with humility, looted and in rags, hanging on the cross of poverty in a rich country for long, long centuries of awful years; and to understand also the sublime reaction (and sad revenge) of the damned, when, at last! somewhat recovered from the dope, they still were teased and defied by their crucifiers, the ruling class of France in 1789.

In the twenty-five years preceding 1715 six million of the French people died of hunger and misery; and through the following decades they continued to starve by tens of thousands, in a country in which all could have been comfortable. Then came the Revolution, which Thomas Carlyle called the greatest event since the beginning of the Christian Era.

### SOME AMERICAN HISTORY

And lest we forget, here is a bit of history of "culcha" in this country, to help the doubtful or the gullible understand what to expect:

Although most of the colonists were in sympathy with the revolutionary cause, only a comparative few were interested enough to be willing to sacrifice their own immediate well-being for it, and *most* of the educated colonists presented a united front *in opposition* to the struggle for freedom from the British Empire. In the critical days of the American Revolution many thousands of America's "very best people," members of the "best families," did everything they could by trickery, betrayal and open opposition, to defeat the heroic work of George Washington and his shivering soldiers. But for the "dirty work" of these "best people," the war could have been finished far more promptly and thousands of lives saved. These Loyalists, patriotic and loyal to their government, The British Empire, had to

be banished. Some of them "beat it" for Canada; some of them hurried away to England; and some of them joined the British Army to fight our revolutionary forefathers; some of them were killed, and many thousands of them had their property confiscated. Massachusetts banished 310 in one batch in September, 1778. Dr. Moses Coyt Tyler, an American scholar of unchallenged reliability, investigated these American Loyalists (in order to defend them). Of these 310, he reports that a large number were graduates of Harvard alone, and that the list was composed chiefly of the proudest, best known and most cultivated families in Massachusetts. He says also that the Loyalists, who claimed to be the majority, contained most of the professional people of the time.\*

In the Constitutional Convention the delegates (the "best minds") by a heavy majority were against the common man, refusing repeatedly to consider a motion for a bill of rights.\*

Woodrow Wilson, first real scholar, historian and political scientist elected to the presidency of this republic, wrote this:

"The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep of popular majorities. . . . The government had, in fact, been originated and organized upon the initiative, and primarily in the interest of, the mercantile and wealthy classes. . . . There were ruling classes in those days . . . the conservative, cultivated, propertied classes of New England and the South practically held the government as their own."

Not more than 15% of the adult white population were permitted to vote; 85%, including thousands of Washington's ex-soldiers, were not permitted to vote on the adoption of the Constitution. While it was being formulated many of these revolutionary soldiers were in a filthy, rat-infested prison *for debt* within ten blocks of Independence Hall; and in all of the debates by the Fathers of the Constitution, these miserable men and the vicious prison-for-debt laws were never mentioned.

For fifty years after Washington's first inauguration big business and united "culture" almost unanimously, north and south, were brutally opposed to freedom for the black man.

Even as late as 1930 John Marshall, then Chief Justice, James Madison, twice President, John Randolph and other cul-

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\*Tyler's *American History of the Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 28-31 and 141. Also *Social and Economic Forces in American History*, p. 140, by A. B. Hart of Harvard. Also *A History of the United States* by Profs. Carman and McKee, pp. 262-3, 310 and 311.

\**American Democracy*, p. 291, by Dr. Willis Mason West.

\**Division and Reunion*, pp. 12-13, published by Longmans, Green & Co.

tivated leaders organized a *united front* to keep the franchise from 80,000 white men in Virginia alone.\* At that time three fourths of the nation's adult white population were without franchise, voiceless as the dead at the political ballot box; today the nation's hired citizens (white and black) are industrially without franchise, voiceless on how much shall be produced, regardless of national want.

In 1830, 75 *thousand* a year were sent to prison for debt; today more than 75 *million* are imprisoned in the stockade of the profit system, facing the machine gun if they dare to attempt to produce at full capacity till all have plenty.

### AMERICAN PRINCIPLES

*The poor man is too ignorant and vicious to be given full power.*

*Women were not meant to share in political freedom.*

Susan B. Anthony, who led the fight for votes for women, was viciously slandered by the reactionaries of her day. A Seattle newspaper said of her: "She is a revolutionist, aiming at . . . the overthrow . . . of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring. The whole plan (of women voting) is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phases of French infidelity and communism."

*The "American spirit" of the powerful, proud and cultivated scorns the common people.*

Owing to bitter opposition by big business and social position in a solid front, it required a hundred years to lop off four hours from the 16-hour work-day in this country; and even yet the 8-hour day is denied to many millions. Only recently (in 1936) the American Bar Association, composed of great lawyers and jurists, voted down support for the Child Labor Amendment.

In spite of the boasted fact that we are the richest nation on earth and the fact that we *can* produce plenty for all, "Americanism" does not include *all* aboard the good ship, Abundance. Under the profit system there is no sign, no promise, no possibility of using the nation's production plant at full capacity, no matter how ridiculous, vicious and outrageous the willfully retarded production may be.

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\*Willis Mason West: *American Democracy*, p. 453.

\*West's *A History of the American Nation*, pp. 389 and 491; D. A. Muzzey: *The American Adventure*, Vol. I, p. 180; and Edw. Channing: *A History of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 191, 192.

## BRAIN PATTERNS

If you had been born of a Christian mother and reared by her in Topeka, Kansas, you at the age of twenty-one years would have been a believer in Jesus Christ. But if, born of the same Christian mother in Topeka, at the age of one year you had been taken to Arabia to be reared in a Mohammedan home by a Mohammedan woman, you would have been a believer in Mohammedanism.

If in 1820 you had been born and reared in Alabama, you would have accepted slavery as normal, proper and even as a "Biblical institution"; but if born in the same house of the same mother you had been taken at the age of one year to Boston or Philadelphia and reared by Quakers, you would have opposed chattel slavery.

What is believed in passes from hand to hand as gold.

The prevailing pattern of life first observed and constantly observed by *all* children for millions of years was the chattel slave system. This was the pattern or style to which all adjusted themselves. For thousands of years serfdom was the prevailing and generally accepted pattern of life, and few in those times questioned it. Today the profit system is the prevailing pattern of life over six sevenths of the earth, and the majority today still accepts the profit system as the inevitable mode of life. But an ever-increasing number are beginning to challenge it.

For every special forward march of society a minority has had to see and feel the greater human need, and build a majority to see and feel the greater human need.

"Hitch your wagon to a star. There will always be some philosophers in the human race who hitch their wagons to the stars, some who steer their courses and guide their lives by love of wisdom, truth and beauty for their own sakes in scorn of consequences and regardless of the consequences."

## REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINES

The most revolutionary doctrines in the world today are to be found in the New Testament:

1. The dignity and sacredness of human life, regardless of station, culture or wealth. Since the life of each is sacred, it should not be belittled with less than plenty.

2. "If he will not work, neither shall he eat." That doctrine is so radical that it is revolutionary. It involves and com-

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\*Essay, *Civilization*, by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

mands a revolution in the distribution of incomes, with nothing for those who will not work. Justice is revolutionary in an unjust society. Loafers and the chisellers of the life of labor have always dreaded justice. But the American people are proud of the first American Revolution, and the vast majority will enjoy this next one.

Yes, in this coming American Revolution we shall insist on this new policy: "Work, starve or leave." We shall be ruthlessly severe in this respect. Only those who are too old or too young, too crippled or too ill, should be exempted from work. This new practice will be a great shock to many; but anything is too good for a loafer, and less than plenty is not enough for a willing worker. Moreover, work is good for morals.

3. "Call no man master." This implies that no man should be the master of another.

These high and wholesome doctrines, sanctioned by the New Testament, must be acknowledged and taught in our press, schools, libraries and over the radio.

### THE NEXT REVOLUTION

The first American Revolution (1776) was "rough stuff"; the second (1787) was fairly quiet and orderly; the third (from 1880 to 1910) was unpleasant, but employed little force and violence. Of course a fourth is pretty sure to come.

The present and future rapid increase in the nation's capacity to produce plenty for everybody, and the private owners' steady, insolent *refusal to permit* the national plant to be operated sufficiently to produce plenty, will probably produce a revolution; that is, a rapid, fundamental change,—a deep reconstruction of our industrial system. Of course this is only a prediction, but the prediction is based upon the glaring, provoking facts in the present situation.

The gap widens between power to produce and power to buy,—widens rapidly. For the sake of profits the Few hold down the incomes of the Many, so that they can not buy and enjoy the plenty they are able to produce. This, when understood, will prove to be a more stirring, nation-rousing cause than the combined causes that produced the first American Revolution. By far milder dictatorship from George III our forefathers were teased and tormented till they were provoked into action. Wants were simpler in those days. Less was required to satisfy "the common herd" and "keep them in their place."

Fortunately, wants have been awakened and multiplied;

and thus today there is more urge upward and onward. Increasingly and more clearly we realize the sabotage against large general human welfare, the sabotage against the first fundamental human right of the multitude, the right not only to live, but to live well, when and *just as soon as* human progress makes plenty possible for all. Millions have caught a glimpse of how full, fair and thrilling life could be here in the United States; and they are slowly waking—waking either for a horrible spasm of blind, stupid and foolish wrath (accomplishing nothing), a mere upheaval leading to Fascism, because they suffer but *do not understand*;—or waking for a season of sane, firm, orderly reconstruction of industry, with the profit system laid aside,—a great and wonderful change, because they suffer and *do understand*.

Whichever way it turns out, a vast, deep, swift change is coming, whether it is opposed or not,—whether Fascism does or does not seize the powers of government before the awakening workers rise in proud, united might and peaceably declare that plenty is not too much for the toil-stained multitude, and peaceably proceed with industrial reconstruction into a new social order.

However, the American people are slated for long and brutal years of Fascism unless they get the facts to the people, and move now and *move fast*.

Work fast, neighbor, to avoid a blind, wild storm of futile hatred.

Hammer hard on the bells of progress, till the wakened multitude fix their eyes, their hearts, their wills, on the facts of America's mastery of the struggle for existence. Write deep the facts on your neighbor's brain. And do it now! And help him think this thing through till his heart takes fire with desire for *More*.

## OVERTHROWING THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CONSTITUTION?

The constitution and our form of government are in no danger whatever of being overthrown by force and violence, or by any other means, if our government and constitution justly define justice and justly defend justice. The vast majority can always be relied upon to defend what they believe to be justice.

Is there such a thing as the "right of revolution"?

Yes. All the signers of the American Declaration of Independence, and the makers of the Constitution clearly claimed that right. So also did Abraham Lincoln.

From Washington's Farewell Address:

"The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government."

From Lincoln's First Inaugural Address:

"This country with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* right to dismember and overthrow it."

One hundred and fifty years ago American society was reorganized politically. Now let us reorganize American society industrially. If political democracy is all right, then industrial despotism is all wrong.

Come on! Let's go!

A revolution in power to produce calls for a revolution in privilege to consume. Let the revolutionary doctrine of 1776:

"No taxation without representation"

be matched by the revolutionary doctrine:

NO PRIVATION WITHOUT THE RIGHT TO WORK.

*Production of Plenty* is a solved problem.

The *Distribution of the Plenty* is an unsolved problem. This problem of distribution is the next number on the program, the crowning problem of our time.

There stand the profit-lusting Caesars across the path to plenty, kicking Labor in the face, sneering at the needs of the multitude, defying, daring you to think and plan and fight for the new justice of plenty for everybody. There, reader, there is the substance of the plutocratic, profit-hungry dictatorship. There is the Caesars' insulting challenge to the Giant Labor's pride, a challenge to war, the hottest contest of the twentieth century,—a challenge to us to attack the production-for-profit system.

We accept Caesar's challenge. Don't we?

Answer, reader, answer: when, hereafter, the ruling class declare, "The common people be damned; plenty is too much for them," shall we permit them to get away with it?

### THE MEEK SUIT THE MIGHTY

The meek suit the masters; the timid please the tyrants. Unmanly meekness locks the yoke of want and fear on Labor's neck. The world is ruled, robbed and ridden by *small minor*—



*ities* who are not meek. The multitude of human sheep are easy mutton for the wolves of the world, everywhere. Meekness makes men blind, deaf, dull, docile, to be easily divided, ridden and robbed.

The present meek and careless multitude, unorganized and prideless, and their children and their children's children, with high numbers and low claims, will, as a class, never enter into the life of plenty in this land of promise,—never while they continue meek and careless, unorganized and prideless. Never!

The propaganda of meekness has helped rivet manacles on the wrists of hundreds of millions of the so-called "common herd." That ancient social poison, "Slaves, obey your masters," is as deadly as the venom of a reptile,—opium for the galled and looted multitude, slyly used to numb the brain of Labor; and now makes it meekly wear its crown of thorns in unrequited toil, and tamely sleep in misery on its bed of broken glass, and wake to drink the gall of want,—with plenty everywhere. The highways of human history have been strewn with hundreds of millions of starved, cursed victims of that deadly teaching of St. Paul.

Thus the brains of Labor's leaders are paralyzed and sterilized, spiritually emasculated; they can not become socially pregnant, can not conceive Labor's day, the New Era, with all,—all of the good things of life for Labor, all of life for all the people. Society, even with the recent amazing achievements of science, accepts visionless leadership, shriveled and bewildered leadership,—accepts Plato, St. Paul and Roosevelt.

Henceforth we scorn all such teachings. We do not forget the bitter, fiery, wrathful words of the peaceful Christ against the looters of the poor. We do not forget that, not meekly, but hotly, magnificently, Jesus Christ lashed the plunder-hunting, short-changing dead-beats from the temple they befouled.

We've learned our lesson, a lesson writ large on the pages of ten thousand years of history of the working class, writ in sweat and blood and tears, writ with thongs and whips and spears, writ with lead and iron, with tear gas, rifle and machine gun, always aimed at Labor.

Yes, we've learned our lesson, and that lesson is:

*Stand up* for your class, and *stand together* with your class;

or

Be damned—as a class.

The meek are damned, damned by meekness, damned all over the world,—meek and in meekness getting nowhere.

Therefore ten thousand cheers for the resurrection of courage in the sons of toil, the courage of industrial reconstruction.

But wait a moment. Courage will simply get us into trouble unless the glory of your courage is matched by the clearness of your mind. I caution you and urge against violence. Brains, not beef, will win this struggle. A wildly angry man has no chance, especially if he's blind, knowing only "something's wrong," not knowing *what* is wrong.

Fit yourself to fight with facts. Think till the labor-garbage can, and the machine gun mounted before the factory gate, and millions hungry and shivering because there is too much to eat and wear,—till all these things are distinctly understood to be **part of the profit system.**

The profit system must be stripped naked and be made to stand before the bar of public opinion to be damned by its mountain-pile of labor as garbage, damned by its vast and senseless waste, damned by its cruelties, damned by its need of machine guns to defend its mad injustice, damned by its sly and vicious use of the American flag to veil its villainies and cruelties, damned by its icy code, "Plenty is too much for the common people."

Labor's creed will be,—must be:

Plenty is not too much, and the best is not too good, for those who raise the beeves, plant the corn and wheat, reap the grain, grind the flour and bake the loaves; not too much for those who raise the sheep, plant and pick the cotton, spin the yarn, weave the cloth and make the coat: not too much for those who mine and pump and haul the coal and oil; not too much for those in school who guide and lead and teach the youth. Plenty is not too much and the best is not too good for those who feed and clothe and house and haul and teach and entertain the world.

## ALL OF US.

Just as we are all free and equal heirs of all the literary gifts of all the great writers of the past, so all of us should be the *equal heirs* of Nature's vast gifts of coal, oil and metal ores in the ground; the heat, power and light wealth available in the earth's down-hill pull on the rushing waters of our streams; and in millions of splendid trees growing for centuries.

All of us should be the equal heirs of all the technologic progress and of the vast mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries of all the past.

This book is intended for those who love their country;

love their country enough to fight with irresistible facts for their share of it, that is, plenty for everybody.

We have waited long enough. Too long! Our wives and children cry for the food, clothing and shelter we are willing and able to produce.

Whether the reconstruction will be rough, raw and noisy or orderly, fraternal and quiet, is not now known by anybody. Believe me, neighbor, in the new society the workers will have wit enough to defend the new order. Whoever gets in the way will probably get hurt. You remember that George Washington told the Loyalists to "line up or leave." History is so helpful with suggestions.

Grateful for, and inspired by the heroic courage of our American forefathers in the splendid revolutionary struggle, making one more march forward for mankind toward human freedom,—thus grateful and inspired, we declare to our children and to our fellow men:

We will fight it out in the national forum of public opinion, and have the decision,

"Down with the profit system! Down with the machine gun ready for the prohibition of plenty! Down with the crowning absurdity of the twentieth century,—shivering and starvation in the midst of plenty!

"On to the Cooperative Commonwealth!

**THERE NEED BE NO WORRY ABOUT  
LOYALTY TO THE FLAG**

**LET THE AMERICAN FLAG AND  
THE CONSTITUTION**

**PROTECT THE WORKERS' RIGHT TO PRODUCE  
PLENTY FOR EVERYBODY,**

**PROTECT THE WORKERS' RIGHT TO A REWARD  
SUFFICIENT TO BUY PLENTY,**

**PROTECT THE AGED IN LEISURE AND PLENTY,**

**PROTECT THE YOUNG IN PLAY AND SCHOOL  
IN PREPARATION FOR HIGH, GLAD  
EFFICIENCY and**

**IN PREPARATION TO DEFEND SUCH A  
FLAG AND CONSTITUTION.**

**NO NEED OF OATHS TO PROTECT SUCH A  
FLAG AND CONSTITUTION.**

Such a flag and such a constitution **CREATE LOYALTY**,  
—loyalty without lip service,—loyalty with no need of pomp,  
stuffed-shirt orators or heavy pretenders whose hands are stained  
with profits on war.

**SUCH A FLAG AND SUCH A CONSTITUTION  
WILL ALWAYS BE DEFENDED VOLUNTARILY  
AND DESPERATELY WITH THE LABOR,  
SWEAT, BLOOD AND LOVE OF  
ANY PEOPLE.**

## CHAPTER XVI

### TODAY TOO MEEK — BUT TOMORROW!

For a million years the supreme task, Part One of the Human Drama, has been: Get ready,—ready for life, all of life; find the materials, develop the technology and the skill to produce plenty,—plenty for all. Part One has indeed cost hundreds of thousands of years of time, sweat and tears. But the Part has been played. We have succeeded. We are ready!

Like a lofty snowy mountain peak, shining cool and beautiful above the burning, sullen sands of a wide-stretched desert of desolation,—just so, there stands the sublime actual achievement of years ago; there also stand the higher peaks of easily available national incomes for 1937 and, still higher, a potential income for 1950; there they stand, inviting us, towering over the wide, sad desert of sickening hopelessness that for long, long recent years of "depression" has cursed, and curses now, the bluffed, stung multitude of American "common people," too weak, too dead in the heart, aye, too numb with poverty and debt and doubt and fear to plan or hope or even dream of plenty of the best for themselves.

Oh, farce and tragedy! Bowed down with the ancient stupor of meekness, millions, though miserable, are actually grateful! while mountains of food rot unused! This is the spiritual damnation of meekness wrought in the souls of men by the long, legalized, *customary* robbery of Labor.

Today, indeed, the working class is poor,—poor because it is puzzled and balked by *petrified customs and legalized frauds*;—poor in pocket because it is poor in spirit, poor in pride, poor in vision,—too blind to read the plain face of the clock of human progress announcing *plenty for everybody*; too sterilized and broken in courage to conceive the new justice. The bluffed multitude, as a whole, still innocently believes that a grown lion will loosen his grip on the throat of a colt if coaxed lyrically. Spiritually emasculated, the multitude whimpers to the masters of the profit system:

"We ask, not for plenty and not for the best, but only for a modest portion of the meanest,—just a little more, if you please."

Bluffed.

Bluffed to a standstill.

Too numb today, too dumb and broken today, to demand plenty of the actual and potential plenty *in plain sight all around them*,—too slave-minded to demand and take the right to produce and enjoy plenty! They even stupidly obey orders to prevent and destroy plenty.

Cheap pawns we are, incapable of holy wrath, incapable of a revolutionary “No!” when ordered to feed fresh mutton to the buzzards while our children hunger and whimper. Shriv-eled spirits in our under-nourished flesh, as if stung stone blind while in our mothers’ wombs, millions, millions of us in sodden meekness slowly starve toward the tomb. So today, cringing, with our mouths in the dust, we lick the boots that kick us in the face with stingy, petty plans of cheap subsistence in a land of plenty for all of us. Thus we are a tame and yellow crew of whimpering slaves, in a nation born to the music of the cannon’s revolutionary roar.

Discouraged, are you?

Well, wait, reader. The show isn’t over. Stick around for Act Two of the sublime human drama: The Resurrection of the Meek to Mastery.

Wait, I urge you, wait for the social earthquake that will shake and wake the human race; wait for the resurrection of the toil-scarred, hunger-dimmed multitude, the rousing and the marching of the meek to the war worth while tomorrow. Hold high your head. Stiffen your lip and proudly play *your* part *for* and *in* Act Two of the Human Drama.

Today, it’s true, the workers are supine and cheaply meek.

Tomorrow they will be sublimely proud and in supreme command.

Want—today.

Plenty—tomorrow.

Today the paralyzed multitude do indeed “take it lying down,” too confused and meek to declare war,—war against the profit system.

Unfit to fight,—today!

But tomorrow! O, reader, the sublime tomorrow! Tomorrow the thundering tread of the multitude, the roused multitude, marching with pride and might to war, the *workers’ war!* *for the workers!*

After the silence of the centuries, the looted, and dumbly contented! multitude are about to look, straight-lipped, level-eyed into the sneering faces of the legalized looters.

Our actual 90 billion-dollar income, with our potential 120

billion-dollar income of 1929 (and now vastly greater still), this, reader, plainly announcing the banquet hour of Plenty for All,—this is the climax of Act One in the solemn drama of Mankind's War Against Want.

And now?

Well, of course,

Now comes Part Two: the actual production and distribution of plenty for all, all the time. Shall we now proceed with Part Two by preparing the *vision and decision* for Part Two? *Search through your soul for the loyalty and courage to play your part.*

All progress involves change.

When a majority wishing a rapid fundamental change seizes the necessary political power and uses it peacefully for the change, this change is a peaceful revolution; when a majority is opposed by fraud, force and violence, the majority is thus forced to proceed with the change by force.

For a peaceable transition from production for profits to production for use, sober American people need only the sacred right of freedom of discussion, so clearly announced in the First Amendment to our National Constitution. Only the present industrial dictators' contempt for that First Amendment can bring a civil war between a steel-fisted, iron-heeled Fascism and the outraged multitude, hungry and seedy in a land of plenty.

Those who oppose full and fair discussion do, themselves, attempt to block the path of peaceful change, and thus invite and promote force and violence. Those who arrogantly and stupidly use armed sheriffs and police to shut off the plain people's freedom of discussion are guilty of setting an example of force and violence; and they must be held responsible for the force and violence they thus provoke.

#### SUPPRESSION OF DISCUSSION

The leading citizens objected to Jesus Christ's discussions,  
his addresses to the common people.

“ “ “ sent snoops to spy on Jesus Christ.

“ “ “ hated Him because “the common people heard Him gladly.”

The leading citizens sent provocateurs to ask Jesus Christ  
insincere questions to get Him “in  
wrong” with the Roman Government.

“ “ “ stirred mobs against Him.

The leading citizens	furnished the thirty dirty pieces of silver for His betrayal to the police.
“ “ “	conducted a fake trial in which Christ was convicted by a jury of <i>leading citizens</i> .
“ “ “	had Christ murdered because He bitterly attacked the bleeders of the poor and drove the parasitic money-changers from the temple.
“ “ “	paid the soldiers for crucifying Christ.
The leading citizens	made slaves of Moses and his people.
“ “ “	rode on the backs of slaves for at least five thousand years.
“ “ “	of Europe rode on the backs of serfs for more than a thousand years.
“ “ “	under the profit system have sucked fat livings from the veins of wage-and-profit Labor for centuries.

Today these leading citizens, most of them, are already so disturbed and maddened by the thought of production for use with plenty for everybody and profits for nobody, that they already show signs of willingness to use fraud, force and violence to prevent freedom of discussion for the plain people to discuss the leaping, mounting issue:

*Profits or Use* as the purpose of industry.

## TWO FORMS OF SUPPRESSION

1. Street meetings with full and free discussion were permitted in tens of thousands of places a few years ago. Today the “soap-box” orator with his message of plenty for everybody, is ruled off the street, where the ragged and hungry could swiftly understand under present conditions.

2. Hundreds of thousands of teachers, preachers and editors, three groups powerful in molding public opinion, are now strangled into silence on the new justice, or even forced to defend the profit system. They dare not openly, defiantly attack the present system and stand up straight for plenty for everybody, lest they be robbed of their bread and butter.

Nevertheless, in spite of silence and ten thousand misrepresentations, in spite of suppression, and in spite of the intellectual imprisonment of preachers, teachers and editors, the splendid tide of unrest rises toward “the morning of the resurrection,” the resurrection of the multitude from the cheap stupidity of starving in a world of plenty.



Therefore the resort to violence to arrest the march of the many toward plenty.

The chief charge against Jesus Christ was, "He stirred up the people." Big, bold facts do, and should "stir up the people." Facts, no matter how important, are harmless "duds" if concealed, or if they die from lack of circulation by discussion. But some facts are explosives, living, challenging mental dynamite if uncovered, set together and widely discussed. Every tyrant knows that no wrong can live long if we all discuss it.

Here I challenge you:

Urge discussion while you may. Fill the land with sane discussion and let's march to power. An irresistible national public opinion for production for use must be created. This requires discussion,—discussion by everybody, everywhere and all the time, till the vast, forward-moving mountain of Public Demand is indeed defiant of opposition, armed or unarmed, like a mile-thick glacier moving down a lofty slope, absolutely irresistible; like the tides that urge the ocean, like the sun rushing on among the stars.

#### FOUR PRINCIPLES

Here are four principles of incomparable importance for the guidance of all good citizens in the present grave crisis:

1. Those who are in the wrong have nothing to win and all to lose (and ought to lose) through freedom of discussion. Hence a brutal ruling class, being in the wrong, always objects to freedom of discussion. "Hence all losing sides dread discussion, for it shortens their lease of life. Conversely, the side that feels sure of its case does not persecute."<sup>1</sup>

2. Those who are in the right have nothing to lose and all to win (and ought to win) through freedom of discussion.

3. If Truth is stronger than Error, then discussion is perfectly safe. If Truth is not stronger than Error, then "Divine Nature" must be a mistake and this is a fool's world.

4. Opposition to freedom of discussion (in the press, in church, in schools, in colleges, in meetings, or in conversation) is the Opposition's dull confession of the weakness of its argument.

Full, free discussion is the fair, square way of determining whether (in the democratic judgment of democratic citizens) a principle or a plan or a program is *right or wrong*. Any insti-

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<sup>1</sup>Prof. E. A. Ross: *Social Psychology*, pp. 306, 309, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

tution, plan, policy or program that *can* survive and win through full and fair discussion, proves its fitness by the fittest test, and thus deserves to live; and any institution, plan or policy that can not endure "airing" and comparison through full, fair discussion, proves its unfitness by the fittest test, and thus deserves to be replaced by that which defeats it in the public mind when tested in the forum of discussion. No fad or "ism" (when fully and freely discussed) has any chance whatever to win, if wrong.

"The race should by now have had sufficient experience to recognize the value of free and independent thinking . . . and sufficient judgment to refrain from trying to check this activity by the cheap method of giving it a bad name . . . the pool of our society has corrective powers for our civilization only as it is troubled."<sup>a</sup>

Let us take our measure:

The grade of life we are fit for is the grade of life we are willing to fight for in the forum of life, the grade of life for which we are willing to stir the waters of the pool of public opinion. We must "trouble the waters" by stirring into it the thought and passion of plenty for everybody; then force the issue.

Help, help now, help heroically to guarantee immortality and reality for this idea:

Plenty, plenty now, plenty for all of us.

Plant it deep in the heart and brain of Labor.

Please bring Chapters III and IV to the attention of ten of your neighbors within the coming week, and thus help stir the pool of public opinion.

### FINALLY — YET FIRST OF ALL

The multitude of toilers from the farms, and the multitude of toilers from the mills and everywhere must **get together or get left**, as usual.

And first of all they must ring the independence bell again by filling the land with full and fair discussion of production for use; and thus rouse the nation, and burn away the mist of meekness, in preparation for the great industrial reconstruction.

### THREE STAGES IN THE GREAT CHANGE

Prepare for Act Two thus:

*First:*

*Elect the issue*, by lancing every worker's brain with the

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<sup>a</sup>President Alexander G. Ruthven, University of Michigan.

fact that plenty for all is now easily practicable. This reveals the fact that the all-important question now is *Production for Profits or Production for Use*.

Clarification of issues is the beginning of peaceful progress. Full and fair discussion produces clarification, and prepares citizens for intelligent expression of choice: for change or no change.

*Second:*

*The decision* by the people on which system is preferable,—which is right and which is wrong. Then we are awake, on our way to the revolution.

*Third:*

*The election to power* of a political party and candidates absolutely and clearly committed to the great change.

A political party for uniting the forces of the plundered poor, is the most peaceable, the least expensive, the most effective, the most permanent, the most reasonable means for capturing the legal rights and powers for achieving the inauguration of the new policy.

Mark this: If every priest, preacher and rabbi, every editor and teacher in America would steadily for one year urge the workers to rouse and realize that "a whole loaf is better than a half loaf," and that plenty is now possible for all of us, an American Labor Party would promptly sweep the country and sweep out the profit system, and organize a new system of production for use, with all of us on board the good ship, Abundance For All.

Hearken again! Here is the situation which reveals our immediate task:

Science offers plenty;

Labor accepts poverty.

Science offers labor, with decent leisure;

Labor meekly submits to unemployment, and whimpers, "Never mind the leisure. I want a job,—'most anything will do!"

Science offers porterhouse steak;

Labor whines, "Please pass the liver!"

Science offers culture;

Labor accepts ignorance.

Science says, "Come forth from the tomb."

Labor answers, "Oh, I can get along here pretty well.

Anyway President Roosevelt says 'No one shall starve.'  
's all right."

Thus sleeps Labor in the tomb, . . . waiting . . . for the resurrection of its dead pride.

O, ye multitude of toilers, ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed, through all the past, ye plain people, so-called "common herd," divine corpse, kicked through the centuries, damned in the drama of history, tormented in our time, barred from the banquet of joyous life, ever whimpering with bruised mouths of meekness and the thick tongue of ignorance, hungry, yet half smothered in the riches of your own creation, riches you dare not claim,—come forth from the gloomy grave of dull delusions, and *think* your way to light, liberty, fraternity and plenty.

Hurrah for the resurrection of the common people from the dull, cold tomb of the dying profit system.

Is plenty too much for you? for me? for the plain people like you and me?

Plenty is indeed too much for me if I am slave enough to think so; if I am a bluffed and cringing human thing, a tongue-tied toad, serf enough to "take it lying down."

Let us be frank about this. Here is my confession:

If I Am

too cheap to want plenty,  
too thick to think of plenty,  
too dull to read of plenty,  
too blind to see plenty,  
too meek to demand plenty,  
too pink, dumb and sodden to study plans for plenty,  
too timid to unite with all, to fight with all my might  
for plenty,—then . . .

I don't deserve plenty. I have too much of a worm's meekness to make it possible for me to live proudly like a man; and

If, though Science has tamed and saddled Nature and now invites us all to ride, I am too meek and yellow to mount and ride, I deserve to be forced to walk,—walk all the way through all the years across the stage of life, hissed at, all the way to my grave.

Well, reader, now that I have been frank, won't you also be frank about the pride that must mark you and mark any other man to make him fit for plenty? Here's my right hand in friendship.

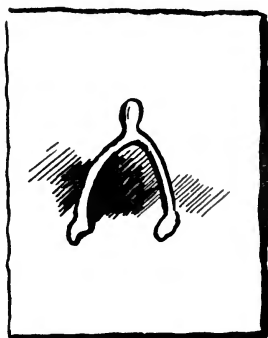
## ARE YOU FIT TO FIGHT?

Are you too meek to feel worth fighting for?

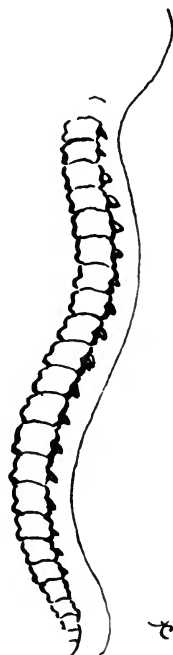
Are you too blind to see a wrong?

Are you too "soft" to hate a wrong?

*What  
have you*



=



*for young*

WISHBONE OR BACKBONE ?

Of course, if as a robbed and humbled worker, slaving in the fields, or in the mines, mills, factories and school rooms,—if you are too proud or too lazy to think it through and unite to fight, then I am forced to say to you (fraternally but frankly) :

Sleep on in your dull, dead stupor of false pride and privation. Plod on like a slave to the grave. Let your brain go dry, stung, poisoned and sterilized with the piffle of "relief" and charity and peeled down "modest living" in a land of Abundance for All.

Get down on your knees;  
Cringe like a coward;  
Crawl like a worm;  
Whine like a cur;  
Toil like a slave;  
Starve like a tramp;  
Die like a fool.

Let your half-starved mind and your dead pride rot with the ill-fed flesh of your cheap-clad body in the tomb of want in this land of plenty. Sleep on, tame, dull Thing till the rising storm of discussion wakes you "from the dead" for the war worth while.

If we are not proud enough to hate a wrong, not proud enough to fight a wrong,—a wrong that strips and taunts and wrecks the many who serve the few,—then we are not worth fighting for, unless—ah, *unless* we can be resurrected from the meekness that makes the Miserable Many the easy victims of the Greedy Few.

Well, we shall now reveal our quality, either the dull, dumb mud of satisfied slaves; *or* the proud soul-and-courage stuff of men and women ready to wake up, line up, and think this thing through to the highway out of hell,—the hell of want and misery in the midst of plenty.

Be brave or be damned.

Rouse or be ruined.

You deserve to be held down if you are too prideless to stand up.

Think high or sink low!

What! Sleep now? "Keep still" and dumbly trudge across the stage of life, defeated, to die at last like a dull and prideless fool, despised for lack of pride and grit to be a man?

NO!

Rouse for the war, brother! Make a man's decision, not a slave's surrender.

Remember,—the workers will never be respected, will never come into their own, will never have a glad, full life, will never defend their children's right to play and plenty, culture and security, will never be safe from want, worry and defeat,—never—*never* until they have the guts and gumption to declare war on the profit system.

That, precisely *that*, is why, holding your right hand in mine, I plead with you—

Come on to the war, this glorious peaceful war! We are

clods and toads, sodden brutes, if *now* we refuse to fight, and fight to a finish, to crush forever the sneering code that plenty is too much for us.

Therefore let us all say together:

## ON WITH THE WAR!

Are you ready to go to war? I mean the war by you, for you and yours, armed not with bayonets and cannon, but with the printing press, loaded with facts that burn and rouse?

Shall we fight or flunk?

Fight! Fight, fearless of the petty minority that rules us and laughs at us, bluffs us and laughs at us.

Yes, fight; but fight for something nobler than revenge; and fight, preferably, with something finer than force and violence, if permitted to do so.

## WE DECLARE WAR!

Armed with facts, big, bold facts that are mightier than dynamite, more deadly than machine guns, facts that make proud men lust for battle, with the printing press for cannon, thus armed we declare war. This war for the new justice will stir the sleeping, charm the brave, fire the youth, nerve the meek, raise the "dead," lash the forum, storm the school, thrill the church, dare the press, shake the land, rouse the wronged of the world to work and fight and vote for

Profits for nobody!

Plenty for everybody!

A prophecy:

The next ten years will see in the United States the hottest, grandest war that ever thrilled mankind: a war of ideas,—a war between two social policies:

1. The present policy of plunder for the Few and poverty for the Many, *in spite of the fact* that plenty for everybody can be produced,

versus

2. The new policy of plenty for everybody *because of the fact* that plenty for everybody can be produced.

This will be the hottest struggle by the hottest citizens on the hottest question of the twentieth century.

*This* war in intensity, in numbers involved, in swiftness and in results, will vastly surpass the war-of-ideas in the 1830-60 period; for this war is for the destruction of the profit system of

slavery, which holds in its clutches a hundred million whites and blacks, North and South, lettered and unlettered, farmers, wage-earners, professionals, and the recently ruined, never-to-recover middle class. That contest was for a great reform. This contest is for a revolution that will astound mankind, and go far in the industrial reconstruction of mankind. This is the crowning war of all time, a war for the liberation of Man from the strangling struggle for mere existence under the profit system.

Now take it from Uncle George: The social ice is beginning to loosen; the great stream of frozen hope and courage and defiance will ere long be running swiftly into the New Time. I delight in the comradeship of men and women like you. Very frankly, I'd gladly give the last six months of my life to live a hundred years longer. Just ahead of us there's going to be what an Irishman calls "elegant fighting," when it will be a true glory to live, or to die fighting; then following the fighting it will be very hard to "go away from here." We'll enjoy it here so much that we'll have a law passed against death.

The ringing, rousing bells of the clock of progress will inspire the long-wronged multitude to overcome all obstacles of all kinds. The smiling dawn of the New Time reddens our blood, steels our hearts, stiffens our wills for the war worth while, the war of facts against fraud, the stony, vulgar fraud of want in the midst of plenty.

It's coming!

The dead sea of national despair begins to move and daily stirs more deeply through discussion. In more than three thousand counties of the United States, in tens of thousands of cities, towns, villages and country-sides, in hundreds of thousands of forums, clubs, debating societies, schools, churches, libraries, hotel lobbies, labor halls, mines, factories, and in conversations in millions of homes, the *artillery of factual argument* begins to be trained against the stupid, cruel fraud: "Plenty is too much and the best is too good, for the common people."

Come on, farmers! Come on, wage-and-salary and professional workers. Come on, ruined middle class! Come on, all who have wit enough to want plenty, are willing to help produce plenty, and are shrewd enough to unite for plenty in this land of plenty. Come on. Let us here in this community be one group of fifty thousand groups connected, correlated in a vast international movement to seize the world and hold the



world and use the world for the workers, and workers only.

Again I say,

Come on to the war! the war of the half-starved Many against the over-stuffed Few, the war between two clashing social creeds:

PRODUCTION FOR PLENTY against  
PRODUCTION FOR PROFITS.

Fall in, O long-wronged multitude. It is base to whimper for the crumbs and crusts of life,—base to bend the knee with “Thank you” for the insult of less than plenty *now*. With souls too proud to beg, too proud to whine, too proud to weep, too proud to toil defrauded, too proud to die despised, get up from your knees. Thus prove you’re fit to live.

Educate. Organize. It is twelve o’clock noon, and over the top we go, shooting treason with reason, and fraud with facts. And this we know:

This war can not be sneered away or “laughed off” by chambers of commerce and their intellectual harlots of the profit system. Armed with the mental dynamite of facts we force the issue. “The truth will make us free.”

This is the morning of the resurrection,—the reconstruction.

Carry this gladness to your neighbor, won’t you? Those who are awake must rouse those who are asleep. Let us swiftly rouse the multitude for the reconstruction:

1. Society shall henceforth be managed for a new purpose,—not for the special benefit of part of the people, as now; but for the abundant welfare of all the people.

All of the people are always more important than any part of the people.

2. The right to live shall be based on the *willingness to work*. Those who produce nothing shall have all they produce, and no more.

3. Recognizing that the power of the few to defeat and fleece the many rests on their *private ownership* of the socially usable means of production, we demand that the socially usable means of production shall become publicly owned and publicly controlled, with a public purpose: the welfare of all the people, all who are willing to work.

4. The workers, willing and able to produce plenty, shall have the right to produce and enjoy plenty.

Fasten that goal in your soul: Plenty for everybody. Think of it, dream of it, sleep with it, wake up with it, teach it, preach it, and sink it deep into your neighbor's soul.

Plenty must at once become the crowning, commanding hope, plan and passion of the plain people.

Spike that idea high and plain near every guide-post along all highways. With tens of millions of leaflets sow this seed, the thought of plenty; sow it as seed-wheat is sown through all the land.

Fire the nation's brains, make red the nation's blood, speed up the nation's heart, with the fact, the hope, and the will to Plenty.

Grave it on the rocks: Plenty.

Paint it in the sky: Plenty.

Make it flame across the world: Plenty.

Let it flash like lightning and crash like thunder through the land till the thought strikes fire in the hearts of the humble:

PLENTY FOR ALL OF US, ALWAYS, BEGINNING NOW.

## THE WAR IS ON.

Hark! It's coming!

Do you hear the rising roar,—a long rumble rolling through this land of ours? It is the ever louder, prouder thunder of protest and the lightning of attack, all along the line, the attack on any and all parties and candidates that are not openly, clearly, boldly for plenty for everybody. This splendid thunder and lightning mean war, I tell you.

This *is* war,—a sublime war of ideas that soon will rock the world and make men twice pale in the offices and club houses of the mighty; and will make millions glad and flushed with hope in the humble homes of the multitude.

This is the crowning war of all the ages, the sublime war for industrial reconstruction, peaceful but swift, unvengeful but irresistible. It's coming,—the resurrection, the great industrial reconstruction,—coming peacefully too, unless the path of progress is blocked by Fascism, cruelly, stupidly forcing the common people to meet force with force.

Ye "masters of the hread," bold looters of this land of ours, we remind you: the plain people of America, like the common people everywhere, we are for fraternalism and peace. *Unani-*

*mously* we are for peace. Curses upon you, *if you rob the people of their civil rights*, and drive the peaceful common people to violence.

Gentle as a caressing zephyr or furious as a cyclone, ten thousand times noisier than hell,—either way! the reconstruction must come,—come as surely as the sun lights and warms the revolving earth, as surely as science serves progress,—so surely is the reconstruction coming.

Again I say: Let us rejoice. We do begin to hear the merry, cheering music of the bells of human progress, ringing: "Plenty! Plenty for everybody now and always hereafter."

"The world is young; its destinies are undeveloped; the potency of its future endorses the audacity of its ideals. Let us pray not to be there when men's faith ceases to proclaim, A better era dawns tomorrow!"<sup>a</sup>

Tomorrow! Yes. The glory of tomorrow will shine undimmed in history forever.

A last word to the hungry, wronged, shivering multitude. Some of this message may seem bitter. But, sincerely, my last word to you is—simply this:

Be too fine to seek revenge even on those who rob you and mock you.

But also be too proud to "lie down," deadened with the doctrine that plenty is too much for you and your wife, your husband, your children, your class.

With malice toward none, infinitely preferring the peaceful ways and means of progress, but absolutely determined not to be denied, our battle-cry is:

**Production for use, and plenty for the use of everybody!** With our right hands of fellowship out to all our fellow men who work, or stand willing to work,—with our lives pledged to the new justice, with our courage high and our hearts flaming for the new justice, with our eyes glued to the clock of human progress now pealing out the good news,—thus we merge our aims, our lives, our hearts, and brace our souls for the Revolution.

Once more I ask you, Have you the grit that makes you fit to fight? I am asking YOU, reader. Are YOU ready?—ready for Act Two in the glorious drama, *The March of Man Upward?*

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<sup>a</sup>Dr. Albion W. Small: *Between Eras*, p. 431.

It's your move, ye toilers in this land of plenty.  
It is twelve o'clock. Let us march!

WELL, WHAT ARE YOU WAITING FOR?

## CHAPTER XVII

### QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIONS

#### THE RULING CLASS

1. Aren't many rich people very excellent, personally?

Yes, the author is well aware that there are many fine rich people, and that they would do anything for the working people except get off their backs. Likewise, many slave-holders in the South were very nice, that is, nice slave-holders. But mark: in order that our country might move ten leagues forward in the march of civilization (in spite of these nice people) their position on the backs of the slaves had to be weakened, *first of all* by the artillery of discussion of the slave system.

And now in the evolution of industry, we, the common people, are up against a wall of flint, stung with the insult of want in the midst of wealth that, in millions of tons, actually rots before our eyes. Thus we, the common people, white and black, find ourselves saddled, bridled, ridden and skinned by the "loveliest people," in an institutional saddle, the profit system.

Now mark this too, please: Not with the sword and cannon, but with the artillery of discussion, can these people be completely and legally unseated. In this book I have striven to furnish some hot ammunition for the hottest, grandest fight of modern times,—the fight for plenty for all of us.

2. A distinguished editorial intellectual prostitute (now deceased) argued that the workers should be grateful to the masters of industry because they furnish jobs for the workers, whose very lives depend upon these wealthy industrial masters.

Well, isn't it true that the capitalists furnish work for the workers?

Yes; and the chattel-slave owner "furnished work" for the slaves. A horse also is "furnished work.." All for what purpose? Simply to reap all the results of the labor of the horse, the slave and the wage-earner.

3. Don't the rich, by spending their money, furnish work for the workers?

Yes. For example, when Senator Clark of Montana built

a seven million dollar home in New York City, he "furnished work" for hundreds of workers for many months. But that seven million dollars expended in comfortable five thousand dollar homes, would have furnished far more work for the workers and fourteen hundred homes for 7000 persons, instead of one building for a half dozen parasites in the Clark home.

4. Don't great capitalists contribute many millions to colleges?

Yes, and thus they tie the tongues of the teachers, and make moral castrates of hundreds of America's most distinguished educators,—silence them on the profit system.

5. Doesn't the business man worry a great deal?

Yes, no doubt. When ten grown hungry lions are feasting on the same small slain zebra, they are in vicious, unsocial mood toward each other. Each knows that every other lion would take it all, and is more than half ready to murder his fellows for it. Yes, business men worry a great deal, because they know one another so well.

6. Don't the rich work?

The rich are busy all right. So also are bank robbers, and fleas on a dog,—busy sticking on and sucking blood. The social blood now parasitically sucked from the industrial body of society is in the form of profits, all perfectly legal. A dog too meek and modest to scratch off a flea deserves to be bitten—plenty! The workers (vastly in the majority) who permit the total production plant to be privately owned and controlled for a private-profit purpose have no right to whine when they are fleeced.

(Now here a word of caution: A social parasite legally and almost universally permitted to be a parasite, should not be scolded for acting naturally as a parasite, nor for insisting upon his legalized parasitic power and privilege as a social parasite.)

### (GET TOGETHER!)

7. They say the leaders of our day became leaders through difficulties,—the great natural struggle method of progress,—this is the true way, the only way, to become great as financiers, captains of industry, etc.

Well, then, to make more certain that the children of these great shall become great, conditions should be so arranged as to compel struggle,—plenty of it. Hence no inheritance of fortunes. If good hard work develops character and will power

and good Americanism (as they say), then these voluntary loafers should have attention, and be forced to work.

8. What is the best thing that can be said about the ruling class?

Just this: They have wit enough to insist on having plenty.

9. What's the matter with the working people?

They are all right, except that they are unconscious,—unconscious that they constitute a class, with industrial interests *as a class*, unconscious of the wrongs heaped upon them, unconscious of the history of the working class through the ages, unconscious of their *power as a class*.

(GET TOGETHER!)

10. What's the matter with the middle class?

They are unconscious of the fact that while they belong "partly to both classes and wholly to neither," 90% of them belong chiefly to the working class.

(GET TOGETHER!)

11. What's the matter with the farmers?

They also are unconscious that their interests are tied up with those of the other workers.

(GET TOGETHER!)

#### OPPORTUNITY

12. Isn't there opportunity for everybody in the United States?

If there is, why do big business men invest thousands of millions in foreign lands?

Our foreign investments in 1900 totaled 1 billion dollars, in 1931 they were 15 billions

According to Dr. Max Winkler, over 5 billion dollars are now invested in Latin-American enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Arthur Twining Hadley of Yale, in a speech at Palo Alto, Calif., in April, 1924, said this:

"In the first place, it is less easy to get across the chasm and become an employer of one's own labor than it was before. . . . During the whole of the nineteenth century the inequality of possessions and of opportunities, between those who had capi-

<sup>1</sup>Los Angeles Times, Dec. 10, '36.

tal and those who had not, appeared to grow greater as years went on.”\*

13. “Any one can succeed.”

Most of those who repeat this must be lacking in vision,—very modest indeed. “Equality of opportunity” does not exist when inequality begins even in the cradle. The children of the poor are discriminated against:

- a. In means of health and comfort.
  - b. In education (more than half the children of the country are barred by poverty from the high schools).
  - c. In the courts.
  - d. In war.
  - e. In industry
- And because of all these,—
- f. In the race of life.

Furthermore, it is often evident that the “self-made man” hasn’t had much help.

(GET TOGETHER!)

14. Couldn’t anybody succeed by saving up?

Even if the poor man had enough surplus income to save anything, accepting the advice to save up would wreck the nation. If forty million workers each saved a dollar and a half a day, the market would shrink violently,—a daily lack of 60 million dollars not going to market to buy. Money would pile up in the banks, interest would collapse, and production would shrink dangerously. And I’m going to tell you a secret:

Suppose wage-earners were able to save enough to live on income from their investments. Then all would be capitalists and live on profit incomes!! But who, then, would be the workers to be exploited?

INVESTMENTS — TWO BIG TRICKS

15. Don’t accurate reports show that the rate of income on many investments is low, even very low?

Yes, this is often true. *But*, a host of reports on rate of income show only *half* the rate on the actual cost when (as is the common practice) the stock is watered 100%. If an enterprise cost one million dollars and the total stock issued is two million dollars, the reported rate of income will be half of what the rate

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\**The Conflict Between Liberty and Equality*, pp. 91, 97.



would have been without the water. By selling watered stocks to outsiders at face value, and in amount equal to actual cost, the sellers get for the water the original cost of the enterprise and still own half of it; and also can report to the buncloed public that the income rate on all the stock is not exorbitant.

16. Don't many small investors own the telegraph and telephone?

Probably. But the vast majority are only petty holders, and their petty holdings confuse them as to where their true class interest lies. This suits the masters. An American worker, for example, a railway fireman, can thus be deluded. Let him own a thousand dollars' worth of the railway paying petty dividends, \$30 or \$40 a year, or even no dividends,—and he remains "loyal to the company," while his brothers strike for a higher wage and better conditions. Only one fourth of the middle class incomes is from ownership of investments. The investment income of the petty bourgeois is too small for him to live on.

17. "Business takes all the risk."

Business risks *money* (often inherited, and usually acquired as profits on other people's labor); but many workers risk their *lives*, as in the mines, steel mills, munition plants, chemical plants, structural iron work on skyscrapers, etc. And all workers in privately owned industry constantly run the risk of being thrown out of their jobs without mercy whenever the employers can not make a profit on them. They risk starvation when their wages are cut off, while their former employers live on the accumulated profits from the workers' past labor.

(GET TOGETHER!)

18. What about competition?

The biggest, brainiest and most successful business men have cut it out for themselves, but they continue to recommend it to farmers, wage-earners and schoolboys. If competition is good as a principle, why does a farmer cut the weeds out of the corn?

Success under competition depends in part on whether one of the competitors is cornered. Competition is foolishly wasteful, whether the competitors are equal or unequal; but competition of unequals is also unfair.

19. What about "trustbusting"?

The celebrated Anti-Trust Law was passed by Congress to "curb" the trusts; the law provided a fine of \$5000 and a year

in prison for organizing or attempting to organize a trust. But the trusts became so powerful that during forty years after its passing, only one trust magnate was sent to the penitentiary, and his trust was so influential that President Taft soon pardoned him. In seven and a half years there were only 25 proceedings leading to indictments; and Theodore Roosevelt, the "trust-buster," bowed his knee to Morgan in 1907 when called upon by Frick and Garry, to inquire if he would object if a certain company (the Morgan House) acquired the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company properties.

## SANCTIONS

### 20. What about sanctions?

The capitalist governments could have flattened out blustering Mussy and other aggressors, swiftly ending war by means of capitalist sanctions; that is, by united boycott of goods and credit, refusing to buy from or sell to the aggressor. Likewise, the united seamen and longshoremen of the world could do the same thing by means of sanctions declared and operated by international labor; that is, by international labor boycott,—a flat refusal to move goods to or from aggressor nations.

The workers could prevent or swiftly end *any* war by international labor sanctions; that is, by international labor boycott of nations employing, or proposing to employ war as means of settling *any* international dispute; and thus save the blood and tears of the workers of the world, and thus wipe war from the world. This would be infinitely more effective than sinking all the battleships and spiking all the cannon and rifles on earth.

## (GET TOGETHER!)

## TARIFFS

### 21. What about protective tariffs?

High tariffs have been "sold" to the American people for a hundred years "for the sake of our infant industries"; for example, the steel industry. This grown *infant*, with a three-billion-dollar capital, still hides behind the steel-tariff walls, beats down the wages of the workers (who then can't buy farm products), and boosts the prices of steel products, machinery, for example; and helps keep the farmer too poor to buy abundantly of things produced by workers in the towns and cities. Under the protective tariff the American public pays \$600,000,000 annually to protect a sugar crop worth \$60,000,000.

### 22. Is the tariff question settled?

Well, the tariff question is as far from settled now as it was in 1787, 150 years ago, when New York State levied tariffs on goods from New Jersey, and vice versa, and other states were similarly "soaking" their neighbor states with obstructive tariffs.

There is no solution for the tariff question under the profit system. Owners of forests will always want *high* tariffs on lumber from Canada, while the people in Kansas, Nebraska and many other states will want *no* tariffs on lumber from Canada. Cattle raisers in 48 states will want a high tariff on beef from Canada and South America; but scores of millions of citizens in these same states will always regret that beef is higher in price because of those tariffs.

Of course the United States is a self-sufficient national industrial unit, and could support itself abundantly with lumber for the farmers and all the rest of us, and with beef for the folks in town; yes, with everything abundantly except coffee, tea and a few other things, for which we could exchange our products. If we produced and distributed abundantly to all, all would be well off. This would be a fine arrangement, wouldn't it?—if the purpose of our nation's industrial effort were general welfare?

Of course, however, if the purpose of our nation's industry is to be everlastingly *peddling* something, and *peddling for profits*, why, that's different; and the "tariff issue" will continue to be a football for politicians to use in landing 10,000-dollar-a-year jobs, while the people go on living under a system that places them on a war-like (high-tariff) attitude toward one another, as it has been done for 150 years in this country.

(GET TOGETHER!)

## PENSIONS

### 23. What about old-age pensions?

The federal government has long been wholly committed to old-age pensions for:

admirals, generals, colonels, and soldiers generally,  
federal judges,

Presidents' widows, widows of senators and representatives,  
postal workers.

For years it has been customary to pay a senator's widow or a representative's widow a year's salary. The first item in the appropriation bill in 1932 was \$110,000 for ten widows of former representatives and the mother of one, \$9999 apiece (reduced to \$9000 in 1933). Among these was Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the multimillionaire widow of the late Speaker of

the House.\* How lovely, while millions half starve, shiver in shoddy, and lose their mortgaged homes!

#### 24. What about old-age pensions for workers?

Well, none of the congressmen or senators protests against pensions for well-paid generals and federal judges; but when it comes to low-paid or unpaid workers, who are damned with fear when they think of old age in poverty, there is a general squawk.

The lives of the plain people should be considered just as sacred and worthy of plenty and security as the lives of high-salaried pets of the proud and powerful. Shouldn't they?

But not until the humble cease to be humble; not till the meek cease to be meek. The masters argue thus: It is no more necessary to guarantee security for an aged wage-earner or farmer than it is necessary to provide an old horse or an old cow with security in old age. The cow and the horse don't demand such things. They can't. Neither do the workers demand such things. They are too modest.

Meekness is a curse. The meek think rarely of justice, and they never demand justice. They can't. Their meekness emasculates them.

(GET TOGETHER!)

### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

25. Why are city, state and national governments and many of our courts so corrupt?

Chiefly, it is the shameless, swinish hunt of "big business" for special privileges, secret bargains, monopolies, outrageous ratemaking, etc., etc., all for increased profits.

26. What about the post office deficit? It is a national enterprise conducted "not for profit, but for service."

There is no postal deficit on any class of mail on which the postal rate is carefully arranged to meet the expense of that class of mail. In the six years beginning in 1927, the total postal deficit was \$598,921,262. The profit on first class mail, by itself, was \$408,287,474. The huge postal deficit is due to a donation which Congress *forces* the people to give the private publishers of newspapers and magazines,—a donation in the form of a postage rate far below the expense of handling the papers. These publishers pocket the hundreds of millions thus saved (of your

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\**Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 5, '32, and Apr. 18, '33.

money), and gladly whoop it up for the profitably friendly senators and congressmen in their campaigns for reelection. Congress does not dare attack the second class postal rate. Also these newspapers and magazines howl against production-for-use and whoop it up for production-for-profits. Thus the publishers have two powerful groups of friends: the national legislature and the capitalist class.

Nice game, isn't it? Nice question, too. Have you another one?

27. "I can't conceive of the public ownership of the mills, mines, railways, etc."

Neither can a gnat conceive of a locomotive, or a fish of an umbrella! Poor fish!

### THE FLAG AND THE CONSTITUTION

28. Doesn't the Federal Constitution provide the "independent American working man" with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

Well anyway, that's what the piffle-peddlers tell us. But the ruling class gets the "life, liberty and happiness," and the workers get the "pursuit,"—and often sleep under the stars.

29. Haven't we here in America for 150 years had the privilege of living under a great democratic government?

No. Careful historians agree that it was not the purpose of the framers of the Constitution to organize a democratic government. Woodrow Wilson has already been quoted in Chapter XV. Here is more authority:

"The evidence is overwhelming that the men who sat in that convention (the Constitutional Convention) had no faith in the wisdom or political sagacity of the people. Their aim and purpose was not to secure a larger measure of democracy, but to eliminate as far as possible the direct influence of the people on legislation and public policy."<sup>a</sup>

"It has been common to designate our form of government as a democracy, but in the true sense in which that term is properly used, as defining a government in which all its acts are performed by the people, it is about as far from it as any other of which we are aware."<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>J. Allen Smith, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan: *The Spirit of American Government*, p. 32, by permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers.

<sup>b</sup>Samuel Freeman Miller, a late Justice of the United States Supreme Court: *Lectures on the Constitution of the United States*, pp. 84, 85, published by Banks and Brothers.

### 30. Is our constitution perfect?

Well, perfect or imperfect, the constitution usually means what the Profit Dictatorship wants it to mean. It can be made to mean plenty for everybody, production for use instead of for profits, if administered and interpreted by those who believe in plenty for everybody. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes says, "The constitution is what the judges say it is."

No constitution is sacred as long as and wherever injustice is constitutional. In the long run a God of Justice would surely damn any constitution under which injustice is constitutional.

(GET TOGETHER!)

### 31. What is a mob?

Well, an earnest audience of a thousand silk-hatted citizens in the street loudly urging, "Down with strikes and strikers!" is called an animated assemblage of our *best people*. But an earnest audience of a thousand men dressed in overalls, in the street loudly urging, "On with the strike. We demand plenty for everybody!" is called a mob of roughs, reds and radicals.

## THE PROFIT SYSTEM

32. The fact that we made our wonderful progress under the profit system proves that the profit system is the cause of our progress, doesn't it?

Not at all. Other nations lagging far, far behind the United States, have had the profit system much longer than we have had it. The fact that you can see a buzzard in plain view while you are listening to an invisible skylark, doesn't prove that the buzzard is doing the singing, does it? True, while we have made our progress the profit system has been here, in plain view. But to one who is not hopelessly prejudiced, it is obvious that our natural resources and geographical location have contributed vastly to our phenomenal progress.

Take 100,000 of America's biggest, brainiest business men and industrial engineers, and 50 million intelligent, competent, willing workers to the Sahara Desert, or to the Arctic Circle, or to equatorial hot and humid Africa,—could they do there what has been done here in the same time?

## DEFEATED BY SUCCESS

33. Well, but didn't we produce the amazing 90 billion dollar income under the profit system?

Yes. But the profit system refused to permit the produc-

tion of 120 billions instead of 90 billions; and the profit system promptly cut the 90 billions to 45 billions, and later to 39 billions. The profit system is defeated by its own success.

34. Who got us into this mess?

Business men had absolute control of industry in 1929 and had had control for many decades before that. No one else can be blamed.

(GET TOGETHER!)

## UNEMPLOYMENT

35. Doesn't machinery throw men out of work?

Certainly. That's one of the chief purposes of introducing new and better machinery,—to cut down the labor cost of production.

36. Isn't the labor thrown out of employment by improved means and methods absorbed in making the machinery and in other industries?

If that is so, why do we now have eleven or twelve millions unemployed eight years after the collapse? (Also after nine years.—F. H. K.) See also pp. 26-27.

37. Automobile manufacturers do not use the best and most durable steel now known in manufacturing automobile parts most subject to wear. Why?

Because there is more profit in building more autos if the average life of cars is six years instead of ten.

38. But doesn't this provide more work for the workers?

Yes; and the car-builders with more work have less time to ride in the cars. If cars were made of wood, not metal, they would wear out even more rapidly and furnish still more work.

If work is an end in itself, we could easily solve the problem of unemployment. Why not arrange in all things some special defects to make them break down or wear out more rapidly? If sand and steel filings were placed in every roller-bearing, there would be far more jobs for the unemployed. Cutting down half the orange trees every season and replanting would require far larger acreage and more work. Destroy the bicycles, airplanes, telegraph, telephones, railway and airline mail service, and all the unemployed can be set to work carrying messages on foot. Or, there would be work for everybody if road-grading and ditch-digging were done with hand shovels, or by level-

ing down mountains with teaspoons. And, believe me, if we should *then* foolishly introduce modern grading and ditching machinery, under the profit system it would play hell with us.

39. Why will unemployment be permanent under the profit system?

a. Abundant employment for all is impossible without producing abundance for all.

b. Abundant production is impossible without abundant consumption for all.

c. Abundant consumption for all is no part of the plans of the masters of industry under the profit system, because it would be unprofitable.

Therefore, abundant employment for all is impossible under capitalism.

(GET TOGETHER!)

40. Why have from ten to fifteen million workers been unemployed for more than seven years? (Nine years now.—F. H. K.)

Because if all the workers are permitted to work all the time they are willing to work, they can produce plenty for everybody, and plenty is too much for slaves.

(GET TOGETHER!)

41. Why advise the use of hand work and with inferior machines?

Because production with the best machines and technology would enable plenty for all to be produced, and plenty is unprofitable.

42. Why destroy hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of food, and plow under ten million acres of cotton, and urge fewer sheep and less wool?

Because plenty is too much,—unprofitable.

43. Why is plenty unprofitable?

Because the multitude can't buy plenty. The reason is that from the total product of their labor enormous deductions are made for rent, interest, dividends, profits,—in short, PROFITS.

(GET TOGETHER!)

44. Why "small working men's homes"?

Because, under the profit system, commodious and beautiful



homes are too good, too comfortable for the Mutts and Jeffs of the working class.

45. Why are "subsistence farms" to be provided?

Simply in order to enable the poor devil without wages or with mean wages to "get by," to keep him so weary, so discouraged and so poor and pepleless, that he'll snap at a half loaf; and so dull he'll never think how much better a whole loaf is than half a loaf.

46. Isn't half a loaf better than no loaf at all?

No! Not in this land of plenty for all. That "half-a-loaf-better-than-no-loaf" is bunk and poison-dope from a sneak for a slave, to make the slave dully grateful for less than plenty in the midst of plenty for all.

(GET TOGETHER!)

47. Isn't the worker better off than long ago?

Not compared with what he produces. When in the Middle Ages a deer was caught by a serf, the serf got the guts of the deer and the lord got all the rest. Today the coal baron, etc., get the lovely lamb chops, porterhouse, etc.; the worker gets the feet, ears, low-round, shoulder and sow belly.

(GET TOGETHER!)

48. "What was good enough for father is good enough for me."

Not by a damned sight! Here's another animal story.

Once upon a time a mule was visiting with a horse as they stood on opposite sides of a fence. The mule was, perhaps, a bit radical, for he told the horse the grass was too short and not a good quality. The horse replied, "You ought to be satisfied with things as they are. Why, your father didn't complain at all; he was satisfied, though he had to nibble briars and thistles." The mule promptly answered, "Well, you should consider who my thistle-eating father was."

49. What is the plan of the capitalists?

Capitalism came in without a plan, has run without a plan, and proposes to run without a plan, except that *might is right*,—the cunning to rule gives the right to rule.

IS THAT ALL?

50. What are the capitalists after?

More foreign markets for more goods to be sold, to make more profits for investment in greater factories, to make more

goods to be sold in still wider markets, to make more profits for larger investment in more machinery, for more goods to be sold in expanding foreign markets, etc., etc., round and round forever,—with the workers' level of life forever to be a mean, chap living.

(GET TOGETHER!)

51. What about reform?

Clearly this thing cannot be reformed. We can no more reform the profit system than we could reform the character of a shark, a lion, or a rattlesnake. If its fundamental purpose (profit) were removed, and if its fundamental practice of compulsory under-reward, compulsory scarcity, compulsory under-consumption, were removed from the profit system, it would cease to be a profit system. The profit system involves, requires, and depends upon an economy of scarcity, not an economy of abundance. Abundant production is actually disastrous under the profit system. Therefore, the system must be destroyed.

(GET TOGETHER!)

52. How could we force resumption of production?

Tax the capitalists till they get busy or get out.

53. What if the entire capitalist class should "get disgusted" and leave the country?

Where would they go now to avoid high taxes? Don't worry. They can't take with them the mines, factories, railways, forests, etc. These things could then be used to produce plenty for everybody, without having an idle class standing around owning these things, just as we can use the schools, parks and libraries without having a lot of folks privately owning them. Do you see? Even if the industrial-financial dictators should desert us, the technicians, civil engineers, chemical engineers, all the scientific men, without whom modern industry is impossible, the farmers and fruit-raisers, and the other workers would all stay on the job. With production for use as the national policy we shall all be keen for *maximum production*. Really it is such a relief to think of the capitalist class getting disgusted and leaving the country. If they should be so unpatriotic and go away, leaving only a hundred and fifteen or twenty millions here all alone, just because they couldn't loot labor any longer,—I fear they would not be permitted to return unless they would agree to work.

54. What about capital to do business with?

Why, just this: Let organized society deduct from the abundant incomes sufficient for maintenance, improvements and extensions, in order to produce more, and more, and more. (See pages 227-229.)

### 55. What is Production for Use?

By *Production for Use* is meant a national industrial policy for the whole people, for the purpose of producing and distributing plenty for all, and profits for no one.

That is very different from "production for use" as used by those who want the unemployed set to work producing goods to be swapped among themselves, and thus "take the unemployed off the backs of the taxpayers," while the profit system continues. That plan does not attack the profit system, but tends to bolster up and prolong the system, which legally permits the profit lords to dump millions as labor-garbage, when they can not be used for profits, and let them shift for themselves until those who threw them out can make a profit on them again.

### 56. Why did the capitalist papers give so much space to Technocracy at first and then suddenly turn silent except when they sneered?

At first, because of its news value, Technocracy was given much space. But when millions began to attend lectures and classes and to realize the wastefulness of the present order, and to learn also the astounding and almost miraculous efficiency of modern production machinery, and to see the vastness of the plenty that could be produced,—ah, then the papers suddenly shut up like clams, except to mock.

The Technocrats have concentrated attention on the revolutionary productivity of Labor armed with modern machinery; they bitterly denounce the present system of production for profits instead of production for use; they believe in science applied to both production and management.

### 57. Why are Socialists so dreaded and detested?

Because they correctly analyzed the system of production for profits, and four-fifths of a century ago clearly foretold its fruits, such as the World War, the thrusting of many millions into unemployment because they could produce "too much" (too much under the wage system), and because they logically predicted the collapse of the profit system, now staggering and stumbling toward the tomb of outworn systems, in spite of frantic fumbling, masquerading as statesmanship.

58. Aren't there many kinds of Socialism?

There are 152 denominations of Christians in the United States alone, but they agree on the main things. So do the Socialists.

(The reader is cautioned not to be confused by various European parties which have the word "Socialist" as part of their names. They have nothing to do with Socialism. The National Socialists of Germany are the Nazis, who are the bitter enemies of Socialism, and who have persecuted, imprisoned and executed many of the Social Democrats, the real Socialists of Germany, and have outlawed their party. The Radical Socialist Party of France is a moderately conservative party, quite different from the Socialist Party.)

59. Don't Socialists want to "drag everybody down"?

No; but let everybody up,—let everybody go right on up to the limit of society's power to produce plenty for all. Why not?

(GET TOGETHER!)

60. A solution for the problem of unemployment?

Reward the workers with plenty to buy plenty of the plenty. When? At once.

How? By producing abundantly, plenty for use, for enjoyment by all of us. Produce plenty. Consume plenty. And do it now.

(GET TOGETHER!)

61. What about the six-hour day and the five-day week?

The work-day and the work-week should be long enough to enable the workers to produce plenty for all who are willing to work, and nothing for those who won't work.

HUMAN NATURE!

62. "You can't change human nature."

But you can change the laws.

Naturally, very naturally, since plenty for everybody is not profitable, the nation's ruling class is not ready for full-capacity production. Safe in their spacious homes, well fed, well dressed, fattened and flattered and pampered with handsome incomes and lovely leisure, they are safe indeed, and ready with tear-gas, prisons and machine guns to prohibit plenty for the sake of profits. Understand? It is "contrary to human

nature" for them to be ready for plenty for everybody when plenty is unprofitable.

Remember: *If the present profit-grabbing system of industry does not have the general effect of making citizens socially sane, social-minded, increasingly eager to do teamwork for high and wonderful social welfare, then for that reason, the profit system is a crude and dismal failure; for social sanity, a social attitude toward society and society's ever greater goal is to be regarded as the supreme achievement in the evolution of the human species.*

63. What about the lazy man?

Give him all he produces, and no more; thus he will get busy or get out of the country or get left.

64. Wouldn't there be a lot of cheating and loafing on the job under a system of industry operated by the government?

There would have to be planning, superintendence and regulation of work, of course, with sufficient safeguards, and provision for recognition of efficiency. Our present public services could be improved, no doubt; but even under the unfavorable conditions and handicaps of the profit system, there is very little loafing in our post offices, schools and libraries. If there were much sabotage or inefficiency in municipally owned public utilities, those organizations could not make the favorable showing in rates and results, in comparison with privately owned companies, which they do even now under the constant attacks of business interests.

Those who talk about "workers leaning on their shovels" in some of the present relief projects should remember that the purpose of those makeshift undertakings is not production of anything at all, but simply to give as much relief as possible with the least possible competition with private business. That purpose is sufficient to guarantee inefficiency. Moreover, the emergency was so great that there was not time enough to organize those projects properly. Under a system of production for use, all the workers would have maximum interest in rooting out waste and sabotage of production.

65. What about incentive?

Suppose two men, one a physician who discovers the cause and cure of hookworm, which in one century sorely afflicts many billions of mankind; and the other man an inventor of the turbine water wheel, which invention enables us to catch the pull

of the earth on water and turn that pull-energy into heat, light and power with untold advantages to mankind. In the medical profession the physician would be despised by the whole medical world and by all other decent people, if he insisted on a royalty of even one dollar for each of the hundreds of millions cured or protected against hookworm by his discovery. The ethics of the profession would promptly sanction the provision of comfort and security for the life-time of such a physician; but it would insist that the discovery should be immediately published to the world free of charge. Likewise, the inventor of such a device as the turbine should, of course, be promptly and abundantly rewarded for life, and his invention used for the benefit of society. His incentive? His creative instinct will be sufficient to drive him on, unless he has been poisoned with the venom of the profit system.

With production for use, all sane and sanely social members of a sane society would have maximum motive for the maximum development and maximum use of all our resources for the production, in the smallest number of hours, of plenty for all,—all who are willing to work.

(GET TOGETHER!)

## HOW TO MAKE THE CHANGE

66. "How can we raise hell?"

Well, really, it wouldn't be best to "raise hell"; at least not yet. You see the masters of industry have the machine guns and other hell-raising equipment all ready to shoot us down like barnyard chickens, if we get noisy. No, no, brother; cut out that nonsense about "raising hell." Rather let us quietly *raise the lid* of prejudice that imprisons the mind of the worker, and let in the light, always with perfect courtesy, always with beautiful fraternalism, always careful that our message of light is so clear to us that we can state it clearly to our neighbor. Always remember,—the man you call "ignorant" may have just as fine a mind as you have, but unfortunately had his mind beclouded with prejudice by means of cunning lies to keep him quiet and contented in his poverty. The moss and mold of prejudice growing rank in the imprisoned mind of the multitude will swiftly vanish when we turn in the sunlight showing what capitalism actually does to us.

67. "Ballots are mere scraps of paper."

The assumption back of that sneering remark is,—that a man who has *courage* enough to fight, will, therefore, have *sense*

enough to fight for the right thing, even though he hasn't sense enough to vote for the right thing.

68. How can we get possession of the means of production now?

1. We could use the right of eminent domain to "condemn" for public use all natural resources and socially usable production equipment, paying the present owners in government bonds.

2. We could tax the incomes of the owners till we get enough to pay for them, or till the present owners will be happy to let loose and take anything they can get. (See Chapter XIII, "*The Big Trick.*")

3. We could simply declare public property all natural resources and our whole national production plant. As a precedent we have the example of the Republican Party when President Lincoln freed the slaves and thus took from the southern slave-holders millions of dollars' worth of "property" without any compensation whatever.

4. We could start publicly owned enterprises and gradually force private owners out of business by competition. For example, municipal ownership of public utilities, even under the present system, has caused private companies to reduce rates, and in many cases sell out to the cities. A national beginning could be made by developing the present postal savings system into a complete banking system to displace gradually the private banks with their enormous rake-off.

We shall do as we please about it when we wake up. Whether the present owners of the mills, mines, etc., get any compensation will depend largely on how angry the masters make the workers. If the masters insist on full compensation, the workers may insist on compensation for the long years of want and fear.

Swift, deep, permanent, fundamental change constitutes a revolution, and such a revolution requires no "blood and thunder" violence and terror whatever, *if the multitude supports the change.*

(GET TOGETHER!)

69. What is plenty?

Plenty means far more than just sufficient to keep from starving, far more than cheap food, cheap clothing, and other parts of a mere existence. Statesmen must be forced to take higher ground than the cunning squeak, "No one shall starve."

Plenty includes the right to work and the reward of plenty

of the products of work; and plenty includes far, far more than an eighth-grade or sub-eighth-grade training. Plenty includes security in youth, in the prime of life, and in old age.

(GET TOGETHER!)

70. Does this sound to you like a dream? Plenty for everybody a mere dream?

Kings, czars, emperors, lords and masters have loathed, cursed and sneered at democracy for thousands of years as a dream. The persecution of the dreamer is the dull and jealous meanness that has held back the grand march upward and onward for thousands of years.

In the highest sense a dream is a preliminary concept, a "creation of the brain." The noblest "dreams" flash in the brains of the world's creative geniuses, not when they are asleep, but when they are most awake and splendidly alert. The boldest, grandest achievements in civilization were at first only dreams in the brains of men with brains enough to hold the dream.

"Imagination is the sun of the human brain," said glorious Victor Hugo. Imagination serves creatively in every laboratory and observatory on earth.

Every immortal poem, painting, sculpture, musical creation, and proud invention in architecture; every daring, splendid bridge of steel, hanging high and stretching far, over rushing, tumbling waters, every lofty arch of man-made rock holding back billions of tons of water, to be forced through turbines to transform the earth's almighty pull into electricity; every great political creation such as the Roman Empire and the American Republic; every right in our Bill of Rights; all,—all these things that glorify civilization and inspire mankind, were once "impossible dreams," scoffed at by all except the dreamers, noble tribe, men and women of imagination, "men of mind whose heads are sunned long ere the rest of the earth!"

I remind you that the worm, the goose, the ox, the dull, the dumb, and the "dead" never dream.

Oh, reader, get the new vision.

Think the new thought.

Dream the new dream.

Let your dream include the people glad, safe, free from want,—their heads high with pride and challenge,—unafraid, unafraid of each other, unafraid of new ideas, defiantly unafraid in an industrial democracy; yet fraternal, beautifully fraternal, peaceful, beautifully peaceful, rejoicing in the new justice; yet



ready to fight like tigers in defense of the New Order, the New Purpose, the New Justice: Plenty for Everybody.

Hear the resurrection rumble!

More and more, louder and louder, prouder and prouder, now we hear the splendid thunder of the chariot wheels of progress pounding over the rocks of injustice, moving swiftly on into the new era of the New Justice, the justice of

PLENTY FOR EVERYBODY.

Reader, the facts in this book must be made known to every worker, employed or unemployed; to every member of the harassed middle class; to every small business man, puzzled by the meagre and uncertain return for his hard work; to every one past the prime of life, living in privation after a life-time of toil; and to all those who have a heart to feel and a brain to think. Let your neighbors and friends read this book. Get them to buy a copy to lend to others. Make use of the cards in back of this book. Send for quantity rates. Thus you will be helping to increase the growing surge toward economic security for all, — the next step in the progress of mankind. —F. H. K.

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*"It is a high privilege to make a human brain ferment with facts."*—From WAR—WHAT FOR?

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this present message, *Is Plenty Too Much?*, I must urge upon the reader a recent book by Stuart Chase, "*The Economy of Abundance*." The facts in this book flash like lightning on a dark night. It is a book of flaming revelations for those who live in the gloom of the artificial penury forced upon the multitude in this land of plenty for everybody. President Roosevelt should boost this book over the radio.

A magnificent scholar, Chas. R. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin, with vast labor assembled the facts of our national natural resources in a book called "*The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*." This work has been recently revised and enlarged by several competent scholars in collaboration. The book is a disclosure of our incomparable natural riches, ready for the workers to produce plenty for everybody. It is a mountain of evidence that want and fear of want in this country is a glaring outrage upon the multitude, lean, hungry and shabby in a country where even the national government issues orders to destroy billions of dollars' worth of wealth. The authors also hotly denounce the swinish waste of our natural resources by the get-rich-quick gentry, who coldly say, "To hell with the next generation. We want our maximum net profits now."

The plute press never boosted this book, rarely mentions it now; and it is in comparatively few public libraries; and (sinister fact!) its distribution has been by thousands, but should have been by millions.

Special mention should be made also of a remarkable book by Prof. John B. McMaster of the University of Pennsylvania, who ranked among the very highest authorities on American history, and was the author of a 12-volume history of the United States. The Daughters of the American Revolution had Dr. McMaster give a course of lectures in Cleveland, Ohio, on *The acquisition of political, social and industrial rights of man in America*. The lectures were published in a small and inexpensive volume, *but*—the number was carefully limited to 500 copies. That is, the book was virtually suppressed. Why? Because it is full of the dynamite of cold, bald facts that simply explode certain myths and lies and flattering drivel that the "Daughters" and their ilk cunningly force the public school teachers to stuff into the youth. The "Daughters" know that the youngster who ever gets hold of that book can never be duped by them and by political demagogues and deadbeats who peddle the piffle about the "lovers of democracy who founded the American Republic." Some facts ring like loud bells in the night, and such facts make men bold.

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## COMMENT

The first edition of this book has been sold without any wide-spread advertising and without any of the usual channels of distribution. In spite of this handicap the following comments were received before the book had been off the press two months:

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*Oregon Grange Bulletin*: "It should be read by every farmer and industrial worker in America."

## *A Few Extracts from Letters that came with Orders:*

"I can't find words to tell you how much I enjoyed reading this splendid book. It is literally crammed with mental dynamite, so much so that I pronounce it the most powerful indictment against Capitalism ever penned by mortal man. If that book affects others as it affected me it should be the start of a real revolution, a mental revolution, for the great trouble is in men's minds. This book should do for the coming revolution what Tom Paine's books accomplished for the American Revolution; for there is enough mental dynamite in *'Is Plenty Too Much?'* to blow Capitalism into hell where it belongs."

—GUY H. LOCKWOOD, *Kalamazoo, Mich.*

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"I consider *'Is Plenty Too Much?'* the finest of its kind. I intend to use it. Dear old 'Kirk' surely did a fine job in this book. It is a masterpiece."

LOU J. KILGORE, *Santa Barbara, Calif.*

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"If the book strikes others as it did me it will go over big. I consider it the hottest message that 'Kirk' or anyone else has ever written, a crowning monument for the life's work of a rebel. It shall do all in my power to advertise it. It is the most thought-provoking thing I have ever read in all the literature of Socialism. Enclosed is money order for twelve more books. It is the easiest thing to sell I've ever handled. It is the greatest eye-opener for the workers I have ever seen, and I have been reading radical books for over forty years."

W. R. SNOW, *Everett, Wash.*

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"I have just completed the reading of the manuscript of *'Is Plenty Too Much?'* and feel that I shall for some time be under its spell. The manner in which our late beloved comrade piles up the counts in the indictment against poverty surrounded by potential plenty reminds me of the trenchant style he used in *'War—What For?'*"

—LEO MELTZER, *National Secretary of Social Democratic Federation.*

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"I wish I could buy a thousand of these mind-rousing books. They are just what the sleepy and indifferent masses need now."

—P. A. WINGBLAD, *Brocton, N. Y.*

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"If you will give me the wholesale price on a half dozen—I shall probably need more later—you may send them to me and I will remit upon receipt. I like the book so well that I want to give a copy to all my friends. You should sell a million copies."

—FAY LEWIS, *Rockford, Illinois.*

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"I am reading George's last book, *'Is Plenty Too Much For The Common People?'* I find it drives the truth home in no uncertain terms. I would like to see it put into millions of hands of people whose mentality is capable of digesting it. It will be a great help to brush the cobwebs from brains of the people and make it easier to see through the Capitalist propaganda which fills the average daily newspaper."

—JAMES N. CARTER, *Los Angeles, Calif.*



